

thousands of workers died, and most of them because the work was carried out both in autumn and even in winter under heavy rains and snow: the sun king was in a hurry.

The colossal system of buildings, the whole town, was oriented along three roads: one of them led to Paris, the other two - to the king's possessions, to his estates of Saint-Cloud and So. Anyone who came here was clearly convinced that the king and his possessions are more important than any capitals of the world, business centers and ports: after all, Versailles was not focused on them at all.

In a huge regular park with statues two or three times the height of a man, it happened that the provincials were mistaken. In the center of the entire ensemble, during several construction periods from 1661 to 1689, the Grand Palace of Versailles was built. The length of the structure along the facade was 576.2 m, and the construction volumes reached the volumes of the world's largest pyramid of Cheops.

An equestrian statue of Louis XIV, several human heights, towered in front of the main entrance, and every day a string of carriages drove past this statue, unloading their contents: barons, marquises, counts, dukes, viscounts. In Versailles, no less than a few thousand nobles lived permanently, who were served by several tens of thousands of servants, small artisans and merchants. But almost every day new and new drove up to pay their respects to the king and look at a new miracle

Sveta.

Versailles was always full of people. And it was easier for nobles from different parts of the country to meet at Versailles than at each other's houses. In Versailles, they communicated with the king and the powers that be, made deals, played cards, negotiated political alliances, marriages and intrigues. A relaxed atmosphere of celebration, fun, and enjoyment of life reigned in Versailles. In Versailles, people got up no earlier than 12 noon, spending the evening walking under the shadow of huge fountains, in the shadow of palaces, evoking sublime sadness. At Versailles, the celebration lasted all night, sometimes until dawn, by the light of torches and candles. At Versailles, manners were never strict; depravity replaced experience, and cynicism was considered a sign of a vast mind.

At Versailles, it was indecent without a mistress ... or better, without several mistresses. In Versailles, they laughed at innocence, devotion, fidelity, marriage, family traditions and other obsolete garbage, outdated nonsense.

In the glow of salon candles, the cheerful cynicism of the "enlighteners", "encyclopedists" of scientists and courageous people, who resolutely declared everything, absolutely everything, to be prejudices and stupidities, seemed fearless! And service to the king, and marital fidelity, and faith in God, respect for one's people and state.

Propaganda and justification of cynicism were so needed by secular libertines! It was just what they most wanted to hear! And that is why at Versailles the works of Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau, Holbach and other merry hooligans, subversives of the foundations, were so eagerly read. It was another spicy, exciting game - during Mass, to remind a friend in the ear of the last jokes told by Holbach about priests, to smile at the king's morning chocolate at the nasty things that Voltaire said about kings ... It was so fresh, so original!

And the whole of Versailles was spreading all over Europe... all over noble Europe, of course, the aroma of frivolity, refinement, fun, an ironically entertaining attitude to life. It was so desirable at the courts of German princelings, and in poor Spain, and in simply impoverished Italy, to repeat as fully as possible that sophistication and the lifestyle that Versailles dictated. Well, yes, the style of the life of rich loafers never brought any other good ... Well, yes, in all of Versailles they did not bother to make a single toilet, and it was not at all rose oil and not the aroma of refinement that sometimes wafted from balconies and from carefully trimmed bushes. But Versailles was a model, a trendsetter, and all the nobility of Europe were chasing and could not keep up with the charms of the French court.

The behavior of many ladies and maidens of the 17th and 18th centuries, especially in court circles, was formed according to Versailles models and with the participation of Versailles examples.

Elizabeth is just one of a great many such ladies and girls, and her actions are far from the most unattractive.

Moreover, I will add to the Versailles influence also heredity, and the example of her own mother. Hard to believe,

that the delicious story of how Menshikov pulled her mother out from under the cart and handed it over to Peter was not known to Elizabeth. Before her eyes, a scandal erupted around the romance of Catherine and Vilim Mons - and again, it is unlikely that Elizabeth did not know that Vilim Mons was the brother of Anna Mons, her father's mistress. At the age of 14, children hear and understand a lot - much more than adults would like.

I also don't think that at least some of her illegitimate brothers and sisters were not known to Elizabeth ... In a word, the family of Peter I was that family, and the girl gained a lot from childhood, which we, boring townfolk, consider completely superfluous for our daughters. Ah, well, where are we up to the fascinating customs of Versailles!

So many, many things in Elizabeth's life pushed her into a mud puddle, and considering what else could be, we are forced to admit that the puddle was not at all that deep.

Most historians do not want to tell about the adventures of Elizabeth ... especially about the early ones, which clearly had no direct relation to the intricacies of politics. CM. Solovyov explicitly states that although

And

“pointed to her favorites; but it is inconsistent with the nature of our work to mention the deeds and people of the dark, who had no influence on the course of historical events ”

[44. S. 99].

Indeed, somehow I don't want to convey lackey gossip ... But, if not for the highest historical deeds, then at least for the formation of the character of the future empress, it is very important: she began, uh ... she began her personal life early, even according to the concepts of the lax XVIII century - from the age of fourteen, and led her very violently. For example, Alyosha Shubin,

lieutenant of the Preobrazhensky Regiment, and Alexei Razumovsky appeared in her life almost simultaneously. And to be precise, the beautiful singer Alyosha Rozum was noticed by Elizabeth and began to use her bounty even before Alexei Shubin was arrested and turned into "Ivan, who does not remember kinship" in the department of Andrei Ushakov. Characteristic fact?

That by 1731 the number of ... Elizabeth's favorites exceeded a dozen - does this characterize her? Especially considering that in 1731 Elizabeth was only 22 years old.

Moreover, there is no reason to consider Elizabeth's frivolity as a sign of some exceptional depravity or stupidity. Apparently, every time she was sincerely passionate about her "subject", sometimes several "objects" at once, and that she fell in love on average once every two months - such is the structure of her character. Again, a characterizing fact? The personal life of the princess was

probably influenced by constant attempts to marry her off. For whom only she was not given out!

Even during Peter's lifetime, options for marrying various German dukes and counts were discussed and, for various reasons, were not realized. But probable husbands were discussed at the court of Peter - up to five in number, and in the year of Peter's death, Elizabeth was only 16 years old.

Then there were plans to marry her off to Menshikov's son, Peter II, Ivan Dolgoruky.

Under Anna Ivanovna, new suitors appeared - three more German dukes (for the sake of the proposed marriage with one of whom A. Shubin was killed). After Anna's

death, the candidacy of Anton's brother Ulrich, Ludwig, Biron's brother and son, arose, and the French ambassador de la Chétardie negotiated how glorious it would be to marry the Prince of Conti, heir to the French throne. And I'm not at all sure that I listed ALL

candidates for Elizabeth's husbands. It may very well be that I missed someone, even from those who played a role in history ... their number is very large. But, of course, Elizabeth's lifestyle changed

dramatically, it was worth come to power Anna Ivanovna.

Until 1730, we see a frivolous, naive and very spoiled, beyond her years, girl of royal blood (however, by mother - a peasant woman in the third generation and a servant - in the second). This girl is very beautiful and, like many beautiful and, moreover, ill-bred girls, she builds too much of her life on her beauty. And, alas, no one brought up Elizabeth especially - he didn't even beat him in the face and didn't beat him, not to mention the fact that

organize her classes or give systematic ideas about life.

The death of her father changes little in her life - after all, her mother sits on the throne! The death of her mother leaves her already an orphan, but her nephew is sitting on the throne! And besides, with Peter II, Elizabeth establishes very warm, family relations - not to mention Peter's love for her. All this time,

until the beginning of 1730, Elizabeth is a cheerful, frivolous creature who may well not burden herself with either politics or the construction of her own destiny. Oh, they'll do just fine without it! It is very possible that

Elizabeth believes with the simple-hearted stupidity of many beautiful (and, again, poorly educated) girls, that the universe owes something to her, that it will always be so and that it should be so. But in February 1730,

a completely different life begins for Elizabeth. Elizabeth understands perfectly well: she needs to hide, live as quietly and inconspicuously as possible. Not only not to administer state affairs - Elizabeth had never done them before, but not to stick out at all, not to attract attention to herself ...

The courtiers help her to lead such a way of life - respectfully, but adamantly, they move away from the disgraced princess, as if she is sick with a contagious disease or God knows what she has done. It sobers up very quickly. And that's not

all ... Minich, on

behalf of the Empress, puts Lieutenant Scheglovity in her house as a caretaker of the house, and Scheglovity reported who visited the princess, how much time he spent with her, where she went, to whom and for how long. Special drivers were hired to follow her travels.

The princess quickly realizes that she should not write to her nephew in Holstein, should not receive people who are truly dear to her, and absolutely should not show protest, discontent, disagreement with what is happening. Hypocrisy and cunning enter both the school of depravity and the school of courtiers. Elizabeth fully possesses the necessary qualities, and disappears forever

an eccentric, narrow-minded girl, she is replaced by a prudent, smart courtier, who is excellent at weaving intrigues.

She lives as before, what to do, feelings - nature is a fool, and her nature is just that. But now the princess arranges her emotional life differently than before. In place of many "amanaty", that is, speaking in Russian, rudely, without Versailles courtesy - lovers, comes one - Alexei Rozum.

In 1731, Anna Ivanovna was overshadowed by another expensive whim - she wants to create a court choir from Ukrainian, as they said then, from Little Russian singers. The Little Russians sing no worse than the Italians, you must get yourself such a miracle! One of the singers fell in love with Elizabeth (and, it seems, took a big place in this heart). However, about Alexei Grigorievich Razumovsky - separately and below.

Of course, Elizabeth's energy is not to borrow; she has not spent and does not spend it on anything useful and meaningful, and one lover is not enough for her. A young woman simply needs emotional attachments, fun, a riot of flesh. As before, she can ride from St. Petersburg to Moscow in two days, driving the unfortunate horses. Can dance all the long winter night without getting tired. Such adventures are even useful - they convince Anna Ivanovna, Biron and Munnich that before them is the former Elizabeth - frivolous, impulsive, stupid, living more in emotions and dances than in something more reasonable.

And that she dances in the houses of the guards, baptizes their children - perhaps this is also for the best. Let the offspring of Peter mingle with the poor, keep away from the big people of this world ...

Apart from the Guards, there is only one other person Elizabeth can rely on - her personal doctor, Lestok. With all his closeness to her, Lestok behaved in such a way that no rumor attributed him to Elizabeth as an "amanat". And so, in general, the broken, sociable Lestok was very suitable for this role.

Elizabeth believed Lestok, because it was known that Lestok was recruited by Minich, but Lestok refused to "knock" on his mistress. There is, however, a fairly convincing version that Lestok deftly worked for several intelligence agencies at once, and this is quite convincing: because Lestok played the role of a liaison between Elizabeth and

several foreign diplomats. This role was so obvious that if Lestok was not slapped and dragged to the Secret Chancellery, then they expected him, and perhaps received some valuable information. That Lestok knew how to work for several masters at once and in the end correctly figured out who it was more profitable to work for is the second question. So it turns out that Elizabeth, crushed by the wayward fool

Anna Ivanovna, was able to reveal those qualities that were most advantageous for her as a contender for the throne: modesty, lack of arrogance, adherence to her father's legacy, love for the guard, kindness. In my opinion, history has proven that Elizabeth really had these qualities. Apparently, she really was a

person, maybe not deep, but good: kind, cheerful, pleasant to handle. The best features of the Romanovs seemed to come to life in her, cheerful, devoid of arrogance and arrogance. Just as her grandfather, Alexei Mikhailovich, could baptize children with his stolniks or joke merrily with unborn clerks, so Elizabeth, even after becoming empress, could well go to the guards on name days, drink vodka with them, eat pies with carrots (she loved them very much), danced at weddings and christenings.

A person, of course, can lie and be hypocritical - after all, the language is given to politicians to hide their thoughts. But if Elizaveta Petrovna flirted with the guards (very likely she flirted), then all the same, in the first place, she really loved the guards. After all, having risen to the throne, she did not stop loving the guards, but only showered them with new favors.

And secondly, she did not pretend to be a good, kind person, but was him. Terribly uneducated, Elizabeth believed for the rest of her life that it was possible to come to England by dry land. An incredible coquette, she, according to V.O. Klyuchevsky, left to the heirs

"15 thousand dresses, two huge chests of silk stockings ...
and not a single reasonable thought in my head."

As for "not a single reasonable thought", in my opinion, a fair exaggeration, but more on that in due time, in its proper place.

Not devoid of tyranny, Elizabeth could order all the ladies of the court to shave their hair and put on black wigs, when she herself had to shave off unsuccessfully dyed hair. Well, she couldn't let anyone have prettier hair than hers!

She did not order one of the ladies of the court to wear a dress "to the waist", so as not to show a better figure than her own. The unfortunate woman got out of the situation simply: she put on her fizhma with powerful springs and danced until the empress appeared at the ball. The

queen is coming! And then the fitted dress turns into a shapeless hoodie pleasing to the Empress ... And

there were times when Elizaveta Petrovna did not appear at balls if she felt not beautiful enough, she was out of shape and was afraid that someone would outshine her ...

It came to a literally anecdotal situation: when foreign envoys were invariably asked the question: which of the court ladies is the most beautiful of all? The "correct" answer, of course, was implied: Elizabeth! Even the ambassadors of

distant China managed to answer this question "correctly". True, they spoke in this way: that Queen Elizabeth is more beautiful than all the ladies of the court, but at the same time it would be wonderful if her eyes were smaller, her legs were shorter, her face was rounder, her nose was smaller, and her figure was flatter. But still - the most beautiful of all! funny?

Without any doubt. But, even abusing her colossal power, Elizabeth never went further than women's games around her inexpressible charms. Undoubtedly, this could already irritate with its obtrusiveness; no doubt the ladies, forced to wear black wigs, were ready to bite her. Without a doubt, Princess Gagarina did not become Elizabeth's best friend. Incidentally, it is characteristic that no one ever betrayed Princess Gagarina, who maliciously violated the order and boldly danced at balls in a fitted dress. Apparently, the courtiers, for all the vileness of court morals, nevertheless understood that the empress was fooling, and there was nothing for her desire to show a good figure to be equated with treason.

But with all these amusing features of her behavior, Elizabeth never sought to cause suffering, to cruelty, rudeness. Characteristic is the vow given by her during the conspiracy on November 25, 1741: if the conspiracy succeeds and she becomes the empress, no one will be executed by death for any fault. And Elizabeth did not cheat, did not change her vow: for all her reign, she never signed a single death warrant. It may very well be that she did not sign in vain; it may very well be that murderers and robbers deserved only death, but in this, really, all Elizabeth is frivolous, but kind. But it's true ... Well, what did it cost her at this hour, when she prayed for the last time before the start of the coup, to make a completely different vow? For example, a vow to execute all enemies of the state with a terrible death? Or a vow to get to the bottom Who exactly is to blame for the terrible fate of Alyosha Shubin? In a strange way, the vow, a kind of agreement with a higher power, a promise to heaven, turned out to be just that - if God grants her a happy ending to the coup, not to execute anyone by death for any sins. The decision, perhaps not a state one, but, of course, not at all evil, not bad

person.

And even tyrannizing at court, Elizabeth was not cruel, did not torment, did not want to cause suffering. The lascivious maids of honor Elizabeth beat on the cheeks, put them on their knees on peas, even those who were over thirty. It is characteristic that she especially diligently thrashed in the faces and for a long time stood on peas those who cheated on warring husbands; those who were in the army.

There was a case when Elizabeth personally whipped a young, but already lascivious beyond her years, maid of honor from the Shakhovskys. Yes Yes! In the morning, having caught a "trickster" in an inappropriate bed, I laid it out on the sofa with my own hands and poured it on the first day, so that I would not run around at the age of 15 for guards

lieutenants! But here we must keep in mind two circumstances at once: 1. It's not that they don't hear about "human rights" and personal immunity in Russia at all ... They heard, but as about some kind of French fad that is not very understandable for a Russian, there is no relation to the realities of life having.

That's what was directly related to the behavior of the Russians, so this is the need to provide patronage dependent on him

people. So they gave you a lady-in-waiting? Dali. And thus they placed on you the responsibility for her fate, the need to educate her and instill proper decency. That is, to favor, to pardon, to raise, but at the same time to punish, scold, intrude into what seems to us, distant descendants, the stronghold of private life.

Even people who are quite adults, having their own children, for the empress remained small children, with whom they act accordingly. According to the concepts of the society in which Elizabeth was brought up and which evaluated her actions, she should have acted in this way. On the contrary, society would rather condemn the empress for her indifference to the private life of the courtiers. She, you understand, was entrusted with them as a second mother, but she doesn't even look! He won't bring vodka from his own hands, nor by the face

will call...

And Elizabeth just behaved quite even "maternally." Parentally punishing the lady-in-waiting for not being twisted, not married, running to the guards lieutenants, then noisily gave her in marriage and danced at her wedding and christenings of countless children, ate vodka with carrot pies ... All this fits into the behavior of the "mother queen", which should "maternally" arrange the lives of its subjects. And to flog a healthy girl, who is about to be married, did not at all seem to be something extraordinary in the 18th century; not for nothing that the English doctor D.G. Bertram, in his controversial but very informative book *The History of the Rod*, included a special chapter: "On Corporal Punishment of Young Girls" [45. pp. 254–261]. 2. Let the empress, according to the concepts of the 20th century, violate human rights in her palace, but she didn't flog courtiers with a whip, she didn't exile or execute, she didn't take

away estates!

Karala, sometimes it hurts and hurts, but she didn't cause much harm. And she willingly did good: she acted as a matchmaker, reconciled spouses, gave estates even to people who were not particularly worthy and who deserved more. She liked to do this kindness, Elizabeth frankly rejoiced along with those to whom she did something good.

There is an interesting theory that the qualities of grandfathers are most fully inherited by grandchildren, and there are many curious confirmations of this theory. One of them is both Tsarevich Alexei, executed by his father, and Elizabeth

carried in themselves many features of their grandfather, Alexei Mikhailovich: this tsar also loved to do all sorts of good deeds, he was kind and simple in a good sense of the word. So

the guards, perhaps, were not mistaken, considering Elizabeth a very good contender for the throne. She, of course, was even less prepared for the reign than her father, but now, in 1740, there were no prepared applicants for the Russian throne! It was in 1689 that one could choose between Peter I and Vasily Golitsyn ... And from the applicants of the 1740 model, it was even quite reasonable to choose Elizabeth.

And the guards could well carry out their plan - to put on the throne of "his" pretender.

IN THE CIRCLE OF POLITICS

And besides the guards, there were also international forces that were seriously interested in putting Elizaveta Petrovna on her father's throne. The Brunswick

dynasty in foreign policy focused on Austria. And the Russian Empire, whether someone liked it or not, was a very significant power, and it was not worth neglecting it. Moreover, in Europe it was heading for a big war ... The time was very turbulent - new powers were rising, until

that time secondary ones - the Russian Empire and Prussia. The traditional enmity between England and France brought these powers to the brink of a serious war over the colonies. New international alliances began to take shape, and it was far from indifferent: what position would the Russian Empire take, with whom would it draw closer? Prussia was friends with France against the Austrian Empire. If

the Russian Empire is friends with Austria, a powerful fist will be against Prussia and France. If Britain also joins the union, then this is really bad! But if the Russian Empire draws closer to France, this will greatly strengthen the position of Prussia too ... The main thing is to tear it away from Austria!

To this end, it is necessary to put an empress on the throne, who can and will want to get closer to France, breaking the alliance with the Austrian Empire ... After all, the Austrian Empire professed

Catholicism, and Prussia - Lutheranism; Anna Leopoldovna and especially her husband were guided by Catholic Germany.

And if the reader re-reads de la Chétardie's letter to Nolken, he will be convinced that at least some statesmen of France had a plan that was both meaner and cooler, they say, the Russian Empire under Elizabeth will return to a drowsy state and will live peacefully, beyond the boundaries of civilization ...

At the beginning of 1741, with the help of Lestocq, Elizabeth enters into relations with the Marquis de la Chétardie: she needs money first of all! The marquis willingly lends Elizabeth, although he does not give as much as she asks. And most importantly, it involves her in negotiations with the Swedish ambassador E.M. Nolken. Because, according to de la Chétardie, Elizabeth needs help from outside: for example, if Sweden advances victoriously, captures St. Petersburg ... Then they will put Elizabeth on the throne, and that's it!

Sweden, of course, pursues its goals ... its own. For example, to chop off from the Russian Empire the territories that were ceded to the Russian Empire by the Treaty of Nystadt in

1721... Elizabeth is categorically against making any territorial promises. Maybe patriotic feelings are also important here, but apart from them, Elizabeth understands very well: she will not be forgiven by the revisions of the Nish-Tadt world! What is her reputation based on, what is her political career based on? On three whales:

- she is the daughter of Peter the Great, the successor of his deeds;
- she is a patriot, an enemy of foreign dominance;
- She is

the Guard's best friend. And all these three trump cards will cost absolutely nothing if she agrees to give back what Peter won! Especially if foreign invaders put Elizabeth on the throne, especially the Swedes.

In addition, Elizabeth is not at all sure that the Swedes will certainly win and enter Petersburg with drumming. Chetardie despises Russia and the Russians, he is sure that it is worth starting hostilities, and everything will be decided almost by itself ... Elizabeth is not at all sure of this. Again - blind patriotism here or a good calculation, better than that of de la Chétardie, blinded by Russophobia?

But Elizabeth does not refuse foreign help, including the help of the Swedes! She offers her own options: what if the Swedish government says that the Swedish army crossed the border for only one purpose - to help Russia get rid of the power of temporary workers? It's possible! After all, Elizabeth suggests to the Swedish side an excellent justification for aggression, and besides, it is very humiliating for Russia.

And what if the "Holstein devil", the legitimate heir to the throne, Peter, Duke of Holstein, will be in the Swedish army? And it is possible! Let him find himself, justify by his presence a clear invasion and aggression ...

So the Swedes are going to meet Elizabeth in everything, but what about reciprocal obligations? And here Elizabeth begins to pull, wag, drag out the negotiations in every possible way. In the end, she never puts her signature under the obligations! So, she verbally agrees, having become the empress, to give up some territories ... Which ones specifically? Let's see...

This is where Chétardie sends Nolken the letter with which we began this chapter. And Sweden comes out, in the summer of 1741 declares war on the Russian Empire! It is widely reported that the heir to the Russian throne, the Duke of Holstein, is in the Swedish army, and leaflets are distributed on Russian territory on behalf of the Swedish commander-in-chief, General Lewenhaupt. The leaflets said that the Swedish army entered the Russian borders with one goal:

"to receive satisfaction for the many lies caused to the Swedish crown **by foreign ministers** (emphasis mine. - A. B.) who dominated Russia in previous years, and at the same time to liberate the Russian people from the unbearable yoke and cruelties that these ministers allowed themselves" .

Probably, Sweden would have started this war anyway, but it turns out that Elizabeth still receives foreign aid! If the Swedes win, they put her on the throne. They lose - but what does she have to do with it ?!

But in assessing the power of the Swedish weapons, Elizabeth was right, not Chétardie! The Swedish army suffered a crushing defeat at Williamstrand; so devastating that the campaign is essentially this is what ended.

Elizabeth came to power not on Swedish bayonets, but let's not forget - and she did not rule out such a path to power. And the French gold helped her a lot - among other things, generously endow the guards and thereby be even more popular with them ... Let's not

forget this when the nobility tells us in many touching voices - what a wonderful, magnificent, honest, patriotic Elizabeth!

ACTION

A very piquant detail - rumors about a coup, which Elizabeth is preparing, have spread around St. Petersburg since the autumn of 1740. A year before the decisive events! The

investigative materials of the Secret Chancellery are full of information about secret conversations and guardsmen, and courtiers, and "different ranks of people" about the decline of the country under the German temporary workers, about the forgotten testaments of Peter the Great, about the golden Russian antiquity, which is even better than the current

shame. In June 1741 there was even a denunciation that in the Summer Garden to Elizabeth several guards ran up:

- Manage us, mother! "Hush, hush, you fools," Elizabeth stopped them, "you will ruin both me and yourself!" It's not time yet! Anna

Leopoldovna received such denunciations several times, and the indecisiveness of the ruler and Duke Anton, their self-doubt, are striking. No response! And this despite the fact that they were afraid of Minich, and of Elizaveta Petrovna and followed her.

In January 1741, when Munnich was still the first minister, Guards Major Albrecht called on the auditor Baranovsky and announced to him a nominal decree:

"You must be put on an unknown guard near the palace of Tsarina Elizabeth Petrovna, you have

look: what kind of male and female persons come to the palace of the princess, so her highness, where she deigns to move out and how she deigns to return - about how to daily submit notes in the morning to him, Albrecht ... The French ambassador, when he comes to the palace of the princess, then about him report in the submitted notes.

And after Minich's resignation, Duke Anton of Brunswick was most afraid of Minich's conspiracy with Elizabeth; he instructed Second Major Vasily Chicherin to select up to ten grenadiers with a corporal, dress them in inconspicuous fur coats such as the townsfolk wear, and observe - if Minich goes out of the yard not in his dress, then catch him and bring him to the palace. And if in her usual dress she goes to the princess, then she will be caught on the

way back. Petersburg, there was a rumor that Minich was with Princess Elizabeth, fell at her feet and said that he was ready to fulfill everything that Her Highness commanded. To which Elizabeth allegedly answered him: "Are you the one who gives the crown to whom you want? I can get it even without

you, if I wish, I can get it. And then another rumor circulated that Elizabeth received Minich very graciously, asked him to "speed up the action ... you know what I need," and

personally escorted to the gate. Prince Anton believed precisely this second version ... Apparently, he was very much ready to believe in it, because there were no other reasons, because Elizaveta Munnich did not love and did not trust him, and Munnich paid Elizabeth in the same way ... A more realistic explanation, during which

Elizabeth pointed to Minich from the gate to turn. The Marquis de la Chétardie, who was at the center of the events and already knew a lot, wrote to his gove

"Minich, having come to her (to Elizabeth. - **A. B.**) *with* wishes of happiness in the New Year, was extremely alarmed when he saw that the entrance hall, the stairs and the hallway were filled entirely with guards soldiers, familiarly calling the princess their godfather (relatives were called godfathers by baptism; according to tradition, the godfather with the godfather were on "you", hence the assessment of "familiarly". - **A.**

B.); for more than a quarter of an hour he could not come to his senses in the presence of Princess Elizabeth, seeing nothing and not hearing."

It's already easier to believe in this - the stunned Minich, who silently opens and closes his mouth for a good quarter of an hour, "seeing and hearing nothing", and you can imagine how Elizabeth rejoiced at the humiliation of her old enemy.

But still, why didn't Anna Leopoldovna do anything? After all, there were denunciations, there were information collected by the Secret Chancellery ... There was even an official message from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of England, Lord Harrington, transmitted through the ambassador in St. Petersburg, E. Fritsch:

"In the secret commission of the Swedish Sejm, it was decided to immediately withdraw troops ... France pledged to pay two million crowns to support these plans. The commission was moved to these enterprises by the news received from the Swedish ambassador in St. Petersburg, Nolken, that a large party had formed in Russia, ready to take up arms for the enthronement of Grand Duchess Elizabeth Petrovna and unite with the Swedes for this purpose, as soon as they crossed the border. Nolken also writes that this whole plan was conceived and finally settled between him and the agents of the Grand Duchess with the approval and help of the French ambassador, the Marquis de la Chétardie; that all negotiations between him and the Grand Duchess were conducted through a French surgeon, who has been with her since her childhood "

[46. pp. 25-36].

After this message it would be possible to be wary?! Moreover, greetings from England came in April, and in June Sweden began hostilities, exactly according to a previously known scenario! What prevented Anna Leopoldovna and Duke Anton of Brunswick from immediately, right now, starting to act?! Only two, but very important circumstances:

1. The colorlessness, inexpressiveness of the Brunswick dynasty, the complete inability of Anna Leopoldovna to rule. Even receiving "signals" - and what "signals"! She still didn't understand what was going on.

2. Discord between Anna Leopoldovna and Duke Anton. Biron and his children disappeared, there was no need to rally against them, and Anna Leopoldovna was completely disgusted with her husband. She slept in the same bed with Maiden Mengden, rarely left her chambers, and even her husband could enter her only with the permission of the same Maiden Mengden. Calling a spade a spade, the lesbian romance was in full swing, and even for political reasons, Anna Leopoldovna did not want to talk to

her husband. Perhaps Duke Anton did not even know about the message of the British Foreign Minister, about the many denunciations of the Privy Chancellery. And Anna Leopoldovna lived in some completely different dimensions, it's hard to even say how she generally perceived everything

that was said about the impending conspiracy. At first glance, Elizabeth's inaction is also strange ... Why is she slowing down ?! But here we must take into account - Anna Leopoldovna had Minich. Former emperors were generally put on the throne by a whole team of professional intriguers. Elizabeth's coup is the most poorly orchestrated, most unprofessional of all, and Elizabeth is the only one who personally led the plot in her favor. In the end, she is only a woman (The author, of course, heard another assessment, "Your Majesty is a woman." The author knows that some especially notorious ladies insist on just such and only such an epithet. At the risk of disappointing dear readers in their person ", nevertheless, I note that in different situations both definitions can be true. When Elizabeth risks close communication with the Secret Chancellery, looking for the missing Alyosha Shubin, asking very risky questions, Your Majesty is undoubtedly appropriate here. When she is shaking, not daring to take the last step , and has nothing against someone making this step for her more resolutely and stronger, here, excuse me, "only"). The situation was pushed by new denunciations,

this time from Breslau. The denunciations pointed to the role of Lestocq, explained the need for him

arrest immediately. The ruler hesitates, doubts and finally chooses a path as strange as it is ineffective: on November 23, 1741, during a reception, she starts a "related" conversation with Elizabeth. Like, she is being warned that Elizabeth and Lestok are plotting; the ruler does not believe in this, but she hopes that if Lestok is found guilty of something, Elizabeth will not be offended by his arrest ... Elizabeth responded with on-duty assurances of devotion and loyalty, but she still had to make

the last decision. Moreover, on November 24 it became known that the next day the guards would be withdrawn from the capital. The pretext is that the Swedes are moving towards Vyborg; but everyone knows that this is complete nonsense, the government simply removes unreliable parts from the capital. Elizabeth is faced with a choice: now or never! And even now she hesitates.

People close to her - Vorontsov, Lestok, Razumovsky, Shuvalov - simply insist on sending for the guards. Vorontsov appeals to her ambition: "Truly, this business requires considerable courage, which cannot be found in anyone except the blood of Peter the Great!" Lestok is just hysterical; according to legend, he showed Elizabeth two cards - on one he, being good at drawing, depicted Elizabeth sitting on the throne; on the other - how she is tonsured as a nun.

Between 11 and 12 o'clock the grenadiers came and were the first to say: they are being sent out of the city now, so we must hurry! Elizabeth weepingly asked to be allowed to pray; at this time, she makes a famous vow - if God helps her come to power, no one will be executed by death.

Only after that, already at about one in the morning on November 25, 1741, Elizabeth swore in the soldiers and went to the barracks of the Preobrazhensky

Regiment. Until the end of her days, Elizabeth recalled how she entered the barracks of

the Preobrazhensky Regiment: - Guys! You know whose daughter I am, follow me! The soldiers expressed their readiness right

now to solve all the enemies of Elizabeth. The

princess fell to her knees in front of the guards: - I swear to die for you! Do you swe

Three hundred and eight guards swore to die, but to put the rightful empress on the throne. Just in case, they cut the drums with bayonets - so that no one raised the alarm, and moved to the Winter Palace. Elizabeth could not walk - her legs were breaking from excitement, and the soldiers carried her into the Winter Palace on their shoulders.

- Who goes?!

- Rightful Empress Elizabeth! The

guards joined the rebels, only four officers refused to immediately join the conspirators. Again they cut the skin on the drums so that no one could raise the alarm. Until the end of her days, Elizabeth remembered how the snow creaked and howled under her boots that night, how the skin of the drums crunched and squealed under the bayonets. And as she entered the bedroom of Anna Leopoldovna, who was sleeping with the maid of honor Mengden, she put her hand on her

forehead: It's time to get

up, sister! "How are you, madame?!" Anna Leopoldovna jumped up, and immediately, seeing the grenadier behind Elizabeth, she began to beg not to separate her from her children, not to give harm to either her or the maiden

Mengden, and not to separate her from Mengden either. Even this gesture - a hand on the forehead - was not forgotten. A special person will be on duty in Elizabeth's bedroom, and if the empress begins to rush about, scream, grind her teeth in her sleep, he had to put his hand on her forehead with the words: "white swan." This helped - the sounds receded: the creaking of snow, the creaking of leather under the bayonet on the drums, the panicky, irrational fear of a coup, arrest, fortress, exile disappeared. For his labors, the lackey, who laid his hand on the queen's forehead, received the nobility and

the surname Lebedev (descendants still live in St. Petersburg). And then, on November 25, 1741, just like Biron a year ago, both Munnich and Osterman were wrapped in a blanket. Minich was badly beaten because they didn't like him at all, and Osterman especially got it, who began to threaten the soldiers and cursed Elizabeth with "obscene and obscene" words. Many more German temporary workers of a lower rank were arrested in the same way. Many of them were severely crushed and beaten upon arrest: having endured under Anna, the guards settled accounts with the hated temporary

Elizabeth kept her word: she did not execute anyone by death. Munnich, Osterman, and other temporary workers were taken to the scaffold, even thrown on the chopping block, but at the last moment they were declared pardons. Elizabeth carried out a purge of the state apparatus and the army, expelled quite a few Germans from service, including absolutely innocent ones.

Guards and this was not enough, she demanded the expulsion of all Germans from the Russian state. Only this, in the opinion of the guards, would rule out the German yoke for all time, and in the capital it was barely possible to keep the guards from the German massacre.

German pogroms broke out in places; to the credit of the Russians, be it said, they were nowhere massive, that is, nowhere did they beat all the Germans in a row. It went mainly to those who, under Anna, behaved arrogantly and offended the feelings of the Russian

population. In the camp near Vyborg, among the troops sent to the war with Sweden, a real rebellion of the guards rose against the Germans. And only the energy of General Keith, who grabbed the first rioter he came across and called the priest to prepare the soldier for execution, stopped the riot. I will say one thing: what a contrast

between these events of 1741 and the mood of 1648! Then the Muscovites, who had risen in revolt, even welcomed the German guards of Alexei Mikhailovich: they say that the Germans are just people and do not tolerate untruths. Now the Germans are being beaten and they want to expel everyone from the state ... However, they brought the people down! And how "other" they are, these Germans...

“So a successful night extravaganza was dispersed by the Courland-Brunswick camp, which had gathered on the banks of the Neva to shake up the supreme power bequeathed by Peter the Great to his empire. After the accession of Elizabeth, when patriotic tongues were unleashed, church preachers with safe courage said that the German rulers had turned Russia, transformed by Peter, into a trading shop, even into a den of robbers.

[21. pp. 131-132].

As for the robbers, if I were the priests, I would express myself more carefully, because it was the Russian and noble guards at their core that were the main receptacle for the wildest lawlessness.

“Then in Russia, a palace and a fortress stood side by side, supporting each other and exchanging tenants. Elizabeth's successor and nephew, Duke of Holstein Peter III, reigned without confusion, but six months later was overthrown by his wife, who became the head of the guards.

regiments"

[21. S. 132].

However, Elizabeth also cared about the rule of law. It was not enough for her that already on the very first night of the coup, November 25, many people ran to the Winter Palace to swear allegiance to her, and sometimes did it with tears in their eyes. She was popular, people were ready to love her, but Elizabeth also wanted to be legal. That

same night, several specially assigned people, including Vorontsov, sat down to write a special Manifesto. Three days later, the Manifesto was published - Elizabeth was frankly in a hurry to explain why she, the daughter of Peter, was forced to resort to force of arms.

Let's be honest - this Manifesto of December 28, 1741 is the clearest example of falsification. The Manifesto stated that it was Osterman who called Anna Ivanovna to reign, thus violating the rights of Elizabeth. And that he and "others of the same kind" after the death of Anna Ivanovna transferred the throne to the Brunswick dynasty. So the most difficult dynastic situation, fierce disputes between groups - everything is not discussed. The entire internal political life of the Russian Empire between 1730 and 1741 comes down to a conspiracy of the Germans, led by Osterman. At the same time, attention is not focused on the fact that it was the purely Russian Golitsyns and Dolgorukis who called Anna Ivanovna ... the arrows are stubbornly directed at the bastards of the Germans, primarily at the poor fellow Osterman. Elizabeth puts forward three grounds for her right to the throne:

the petition of loyal subjects, loyalty to the Testament of Catherine I and

closeness by blood to Peter I. Well, there is no need to seriously talk about a nationwide vocation. As for the Testament... According to its content, when Peter II dies childless, the throne is inherited by the eldest daughter of Peter I Anna and her offspring. Anna died in 1728, but Peter, the Duke of Holstein, Anna Ivanovna's "devil" and Elizabeth's favorite nephew - he's a real life! And if you act strictly according to the Testament, then after all, the throne is his ...

Therefore, in the following editions of the Manifesto, one and indisputable reason to take the throne was put forward - blood proximity to Peter I. Well, and the desire to restore the principles of the policy of Peter I, "trampled" under Anna Ivanovna. This jet, the restoration of what was under Peter, was very popular. From time to time, the epoch of Peter was covered with a veil of history, time carried away dirt and blood, and an obscure, sometimes false tale of greatness remained. How veterans exalt, sometimes idolize their late commanders - this is known. And the new Manifesto of December 12, 1742 on the restoration of the Senate, pushed back at first by the Supreme Council, then by the Cabinet, was greeted with joy by the majority of the "people" ... in the sense of the nobility.

"According to our successful ascension to our All-Russian parental throne, we saw that the order in the affairs of state internal government has been canceled in everything from how it was under Our father and Our mother,"

This is how the Manifesto

began. What else? Well, of course, the kind and gentle Elizabeth immediately distributed earrings to all the sisters and acted fairly. Already on December 31, the grenadier company of the Life Guards of the Preobrazhensky Regiment, 364 people who put Elizabeth on the throne, received the name of the life campaign with a special uniform and banner. Elizaveta Petrovna herself became a captain in this company, all officer ranks in it were equated with generals, the rank of warrant officer was equated with colonel, and privates and non-commissioned officers were equated with officers. All non-nobles immediately received the nobility. By the way, among the 308 private guards who elevated Elizabeth to the throne, only 54 p

nobles, and there were no immigrants from noble families among the officers. The Life Campaign, this "guard within the guard", had special premises in the Winter Palace, and Elizabeth liked to visit there at night.

There were many awards to new ranks and awards
villages and lands.

Sailor Maxim Tolstoy, who in 1740 did not want to swear allegiance to Ivan Antonovich and named Elizabeth the legitimate empress, was promoted to army captain and received 500 rubles.

Elizabeth's nephew and Peter's maternal grandson, Duke Peter of Holstein, was immediately discharged from Holstein. Soon he was officially appointed heir. Scammer Osip Silence,
who killed Dolgoruky in Berezov,
expelled from service and forbidden to take anywhere.

The children of Artemy Volynsky were returned what was confiscated property.

The return of those exiled under Anna Ivanovna began, the search for exiled under false names.

At first, they wanted to send the young emperor abroad with the whole family ... Then fears prevailed that the emperor and his relatives could become a banner in international intrigues (Elizabeth already knew how to do this). And besides, the case was

revealed: several army officers wanted to kill Elizabeth and her nephew, to return power to Ivan VI as the legitimate emperor. As a result, the Brunswick dynasty

was hidden so that even
finding it was the greatest state secret.

GOVERNING BODY

Let's call a spade a spade: Elizabeth continued the line of kings and emperors who did not want to rule at all. That is, to reign, to sit on the throne - and legally - she wanted, and even really wanted. But to rule, to lead the country ...

That is, at first, at the time of coming to power, she even came to meetings of the Senate, sat for three hours. On

her direct instructions, the Senate adopted a Decree on the revision of all laws issued after Peter in order to eliminate from

legislation, all distortions of the "Petrine principles". This exercise turned out to be extremely pointless: instead of creating new laws, the Senate delved into the old, figuring out whether the law corresponds to the "Petrine principles" or does not. And the speed of this work was ... appropriate. By 1750, only the laws of 1729 were reached, and all the decrees from the time of Anna Ivanovna were still ahead. In 1754, Pyotr Ivanovich Shuvalov proposed to direct efforts towards the creation of a new set of laws -

the Code. Peter I once wanted to create such a Code, Shuvalov's idea looked like a return to Peter's idea, and therefore Elizabeth agreed.

But these are examples of very serious decisions, and besides, they touched the ideology of the reign - the idea of returning to the principles of the policy of Peter I. As A.P. Sumarokov in December 1741:

In his daughter, Peter again ascended the throne, In Elizabeth he found all his affairs.

Whether to regret that the Antichrist was not resurrected in his daughter and that a whole family of Antichrists did not appear in Russia, let the reader decide for himself. But in any case, there is no itch for reforms, nothing like 20,000 decrees during the reign. What Elizabeth inherited was exuberant

energy and alcoholism; after all, it is unlikely that Peter was sober when he conceived it, and Catherine never considered that pregnancy was an obstacle for a charm. Is it any wonder that at the age of twelve, Elizabeth also tried Hungarian wine, which her mother loved so much, and even stronger drinks, such as vodka or English brandy.

In general, Elizabeth had very little inclination to rule and very little interest in power as such. She simply did not have enough time for all this! Balls, masquerades, trips, theatres, entertainment...

There was one rather painful string in that ... The fact is that Elizabeth is an easy character, cheerful, lively! - for many years she was tormented by the fear of a coup, a night invasion, a conspiracy ... She understood that there was no reason to worry, there was no need to check the castle five times and

a deadbolt on the door that there is no opposition in the country that could carry out a coup. But it was external, logical, and the complex was placed in the subcortex, and Elizaveta could not get rid of it. In particular, this is why she tried not to sleep at night (as if the conspirators could not come to the ball, they could not break in during the day!). As soon as you doze off, it came: the creaking of snow under your boots, the screech of leather on drums under bayonets, the clatter of those who burst into the palace, your palm on your forehead sleeping ... Elizabeth paid

10 rubles a night to guards near her doors - an unheard of reward! And, frankly, undeserved - this work was not worth it. All over the country there was a search for old people who would suffer from

insomnia, who would be able to stay up all night. It seems to have been found, but Elizabeth exposed the old bastard - he just managed to sleep without closing his eyes at the same time ...

Then Elizabeth began to sleep in the company of one or more women ... Nothing to do with the return of the foul times of the favorite Mengden! The presence of the ladies soothed, allowed at least a little sleep. I can imagine how much energy Elizaveta used to fight with herself! The fight against an inflamed imagination, my own fears

took not only strength, but also time. And it was necessary to find time for 15 thousand dresses, and to order all the ladies of the court to shave their hair. The Empress rarely went to bed before 6 o'clock in the morning. If she was seriously engaged in something, then only foreign policy, and as a rule, her hands did not reach what was happening "inside".

Elizabeth frankly forgot even the most important things, confused the details, distracted from the most significant circumstances. Bad memory? But she perfectly remembered all her godchildren and even what she drank with whom, at what christenings; even in the very first crazy days, neither the sailor Maxim Tolstoy, who was faithful to her, nor Alyosha Shubin, nor the fate of the Dolgoruky, did not fly out of her memory. Oh, she remembered a lot of things in these ten years of Anna's reign! Apparently, the point here is not in the power of memory, but in its selectivity. After all, something always seems more significant, The most important thing something less...

for her was fun, pleasure, life in her yard. It was a strange yard, strange and for all its

specific cheerfulness - uncomfortable. The soldiers in the guard with the empress on "you", the servants in the first half of the day you won't call at all, and in the evening they also come drunk and self-willed, when they obey, and when they don't. The panels, the floors in the palace are overgrown with dirt, on all the tables there are piles of dirty dishes, it stinks in the corners - piles of leftovers rot, vomit, and even poop. Finding a place to spend the night is very difficult, even if you are an invited guest, because not only in all the beds, but right on the floors, people are sleeping at different stages of the hangover syndrome.

By evening, the palace comes to life, part of the tables are set, and the dirty dishes are partly carried away, and partly simply shifted, food and drink appear, and the palace is drawn into convulsive fun almost until the morning. Some stray personalities roam everywhere, and it is not always clear who it is - a prince, a count, a state councilor or an occasional drinking buddy, a tavern dud, called to feast with the princes for their tricks and brisk language. If not servants, then surely the guards are sitting at a common table, including at the table of the empress, knocking cup on cup, yelling songs, and, of course, no one is doing anything, everything is drowning in unrestrained fun.

To say what most of all reminds me of this "jolly" palace? Robber "raspberries", that's what! Catherine II ruled

through favorite lovers, and each of them was a major statesman (others, therefore, were not taken as lovers). Elizaveta Petrovna is also constantly surrounded

by favorites, but here
sense from them...

There are different versions about Alexei Grigoryevich Razumovsky: from the one that he was a stuffed fool with outward beauty and therefore had no influence on Elizabeth and the country's politics. And to the fact that he was an incredible sage, detached from the bustle of this world, and therefore did not climb into anything, - they say, there is no need.

In any case, no matter what personal qualities lay at the basis, Alexei Grigorievich, with his colossal influence at court, was fantastically lazy and completely devoid of ambition. Having come to power, Elizabeth made him lieutenant general and chamberlain. And a little later - a field marshal, holder of the Order of St. Andrew the First-Called and the owner of the Anichkov Palace. Awards

The Elizabeths turned Alexei Razumovsky into one of the richest landowners in Russia, and he led a lifestyle approximately the same as he did in his native village - a vegetable one. That is, he slept, ate, prayed to God and did not particularly care about anything. He not only did not participate in political life, but also did not read books, did not learn languages, was completely indifferent to art ... In a word, he did not take advantage of the opportunities that opened up to him, except for delicious food, and by his mature years

he became very fat. There are several paintings-portraits of Alexei Grigorievich, and in all of them he is depicted reclining: this is how a Little Russian peasant lies on the lid of the cellar, when it is already hot and it is impossible to weed or mow. Well, an incredible fate saved Razumovsky from the need to mow and weed, and

he almost did not change this position. Especially for those who are ready to accuse me of hatred for the hardworking Ukrainian people or some specific hostility towards the peasantry, I will note: undoubtedly, the personal qualities of people who come from the people can be very different. In those same years, another native of the peasants in the first generation lived in Russia - Mikhail Lomonosov, but there are no signs of Elizabeth's interest in him, and the peasant son himself looked at the empress with disgust, simply indecent for a courtier.

The very fact that Elizabeth took as a lover and adored for many years just such a lazy and boring person characterizes her first of all, and not the Ukrainians and not the peasants. I would not like to go into obscenity, finding out what intellectual or anatomical merits of Rozum made the Empress so fascinated by him, but in any case, not a single intelligent, intelligent, energetic woman - I mean, a woman with at least one of these qualities, for a long time with Razumovsky would not have survived. And therefore her choice ... however, make your own assessments. Count

Kirill Grigoryevich, brother of Alexei, made an even more fantastic career: at the age of 16 he was called from his native village to St. Petersburg, promoted to count and sent to study in Europe. Two years later he returned and was immediately made ... President of the Academy of Sciences. At the age of 22, "Count Kirila" became the hetman of Ukraine, which was equivalent to the rank of field marshal.

But "Count Kirila" also became famous mainly for his ability to cook and eat "hams with cibula" (that is, with onions), and even for the fact that he beat the courtiers with his own hands, getting drunk. He did not like the courtiers, considered crafty and cunning. I will not justify the courtiers, but in any case, rude peasants and especially drunken types are very fond of accusing successful people of dishonesty and cunning; whether this is the case, I will not argue. Well, so, after a grand drinking bout and devouring a whole ham, "Count Kirila" began to become especially angry with the courtiers and, in the end, let go of his hands. Not seen in any other great deeds.

The only thing that may be of interest to Alexei Grigorievich Razumovsky is as the secret husband of Elizabeth and the father of her child - a direct contender for the throne.

Pre-revolutionary historians tried not to discuss such a possibility, although they could not help but know about the rumors of that time. CM. Solovyov mentions a likely event, but gives the most streamlined assessment:

"they claimed that Elizabeth was married to him"

[44. S. 99].

In Soviet times, the marriage of Elizaveta Petrovna with Razumovsky was asserted as an undoubted fact, but the fact that they had children was categorically denied:

"I got married to a young singer from Ukrainian. Cossacks, elevated to the dignity of a count - A.G. Razumovsky"

[47. S. 78].

"In 1742 he entered into a secret marriage with Elizaveta Petrovna; there were no offspring from this marriage (contrary to legends) "

[48, p. 434].

It is more or less clear why the marriage remained secret. Artistic and on the throne?! Elizabeth herself, speaking between us, was not so blue-blooded: her maternal grandfather was the Belarusian peasant Ivan Skavroschuk, and on the paternal side, another grandfather - the father of her grandmother, Natalya Kirillovna, started as a streltsy head in Tarusa, that is, he was whatever, but only not as a king. But in those specific conditions and circumstances, becoming Elizabeth Razumovskaya and placing Alexei Grigorievich on the throne was completely

impossible.

Of course, in more civilized countries there is such a phenomenon as morganatic marriage: when a prince marries or a princess marries a person not from a royal family, and the children from this marriage do not have the right to the throne. Marriage is declared morganatic from the very beginning, and if it suits everyone, why not? Just eighty years later, Grand Duke

Konstantin marries for love and abdicates the throne in favor of his younger brother, Nicholas I Pavlovich.

Alas, so far in the Russian Empire they have not heard of such subtleties, and the empress cannot enter into a morganatic marriage with all her desire. They won't understand, sir... With all the love for her, the guards and all the nobility, they won't understand, sir...

It is much more difficult to explain why it was so important to defend the futility of the marriage of Elizabeth and Razumovsky? I can see only one reason here: Soviet historians, no less than pre-revolutionary ones, were concerned about hiding the tense dynastic situation in the Russian Empire. Why it was so important for them to create the illusion of peace and grace - I no longer

I know.

However, the dynastic and political problems of this couple and their children is a special topic, while we seem to be talking about favorites ...

The Shuvalovs were more meaningful favorites, but this is also pure coincidence. In 1749, forty-year-old Elizabeth took 22-year-old Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov as her lover, and, most surprisingly, this aristocratic youth also had many features in common with the Little Russian peasant Alexei Razumovsky.

Soft character, contemplative mind, complete lack of ambition, constant dreams of quiet solitude, of leaving the world ...

Apparently, such scraggly ones most of all attracted Elizabeth - one has to draw such a conclusion. Ivan Shuvalov did not accept either the title of count or high posts from Elizabeth and led the entire foreign policy of the Russian Empire in the most mafia way, unofficially. I note that Catherine II never did this - if some sphere was entrusted to her lover, then he was given official rights and ranks. And the bed was still separated from politics. But this is where some class differences came into play. Firstly, after all, Ivan Shuvalov visited some ideas of state reorganization. In particular, he submitted to

Elizabeth a memorandum with a completely utopian project for the introduction in Russia of "indispensable laws" aimed at achieving the "common good". In his memorandum to Elizabeth, Ivan almost verbatim reproduced another French educator, Montesquieu, with his idea of "fundamental laws" that are binding on both subjects and the monarch. The French theorist, who had never run even a sausage shop, saw in the "basic laws" what separates an enlightened monarchy from an uncultured despotism. Shuvalov seriously suggested that the empress swear that she would abide by "immutable laws", and the subjects swore that they would observe how the monarch observes these laws ... It is unlikely that Shuvalov meant by "subjects" anyone other than the nobles ,

but even this option was simply abnormally bold for an unlimited monarchy. There is a version that Elizabeth did not listen to the memo, fell asleep, and in this case, her low level of culture and primitive intellect can only be rejoiced at. It is terrible to think what might have become of Russia if the tsarina had begun to realize a new utopia! This time to build an "enlightened monarchy" and

obeying the "basic laws" ...

Secondly, Ivan Shuvalov still led foreign policy. A descendant of Gregory Rozum did not do this, and it is completely unknown whether he was capable of it.

Thirdly, Ivan was intelligent enough to learn something, to know European languages and the basics of sciences and arts; to become the patron of sciences and arts in the Russian Empire. He contributed to the opening of the Academy of Arts in 1757 and the Moscow University in 1755, was friendly with M. Lomonosov, corresponded with French enlighteners, especially Helvetius and Voltaire, helped many poets and artists.

That Elizabeth herself, that both Razumovskys would hardly have been able to distinguish a landscape from a still life, and Lomonosov's attempts to explain to Elizabeth what chemistry is and why he wants to start a chemical laboratory, did not lead to anything. It ended with the Empress waving her hands at him:

- Enough, enough, Mikhailo Vasilyevich, still nothing
I'll take it apart! Do your own laboratory, otherwise it would be better to write verses ...

And the correspondence or any communication between the Razumovskys and Helvetius is somehow difficult to imagine ... Unless the drunk Grigory would start reproaching Helvetius for double-mindedness and would try to "reason" him with his own hands.

Fourthly (and this is the main thing!), Vanechka had relatives ... For example, Ivan's cousins, Pyotr Ivanovich and Alexander Ivanovich, who, with patriarchal simplicity, became the head of the government. They did not shy away from official posts, and Alexander became the head of the Secret Chancellery, that is, political investigation, and Peter ... It is difficult to say what the eldest of the Shuvalov brothers, the head of the clan, did not do: Peter Shuvalov was born in 1710, and Ivan - in 1727 . Count since 1746, field marshal general, he was no stranger to technology,

commerce, and politics. The organizer of several artillery factories, the head of the Armory Office since 1757, Pyotr Ivanovich invented new types of artillery pieces: the "secret howitzer" and the howitzer, which was called "Shuvalov's unicorn". In fact, a howitzer is a weapon designed for mounted shooting. The barrel of a howitzer can be raised very high, and hit hidden targets from it. Usually howitzer barrels were made short and with a very large caliber in order to throw a larger projectile into the fortress. But if the length of the barrel decreases, then after all, the accuracy of shooting becomes less. IN

As a result, the howitzer became of little use on the battlefield, where enemy units move quickly and it is necessary to shoot quickly and accurately.

And Pyotr Shuvalov, using stronger and lighter alloys, created howitzers with a long barrel, and, moreover, lighter ones that were easier to drag. It is characteristic that the "Shuvalov

unicorn" was in service with the Russian army for a good hundred years - before smooth-bore artillery was replaced by rifled artillery in the 1860s. And at the same time, Peter Ivanovich - the

author of such a measure as the abolition of internal duties - now it was not necessary to pay for the transport of goods from one part of the empire to another. He is also a supporter of

supporting Russian production, protecting the interests of producers of goods in the Russian Empire from the competition of foreign industrialists. He owns the projects of the Noble Bank and

the Peasant Bank, the idea of a general survey - that is, the exact definition of the boundaries of all possessions - both private, and church, and state. They started general land surveying only in 1766, already under Catherine II, but Shuvalov's idea was ... He was engaged in both commercial and industrial activities:

he participated in wine and tobacco farming, took a monopoly on fish and seal trades in the White and Caspian Seas, on foreign trade in timber, owned several ironworks. It is quite noticeable that the position of Peter Shuvalov in the state greatly helped his affairs: after all, not everyone would be given a monopoly on fish and seal trades on the scale of two seas! But what is most important now is that, by and large, the reason for the rise of Peter Shuvalov was not in mental abilities and

benefit for the fatherland. It was not because his reforms were carried out and the unicorn howitzer was introduced in the army that someone was convinced by the arguments of Pyotr Ivanovich Shuvalov. The main reason P'tr Ivanovich was able to do anything at all was the empress's fascination with his cousin Ivan.

However, he also used other means to be indispensable at court:

“... combining everything that the subtlest court cunning has, that is, not only flattery, pleasing the monarch, serving Razumovsky's lover, giving to all vile and depraved women (and who alone were sitters with her at night, others stroked her legs), to a little magnificent signifying eloquence, he penetrated that state revenues did not have a decent position, and the empress was luxurious and voluptuous ... he always said that they were enough, and found the necessary amounts for the pleasure of the empress's luxury ”

[49, p. 63].

The only thing that, perhaps, Prince Shcherbatov is wrong about: “mean and depraved women” sleeping with the Empress is not a return to the mores of Anna Leopoldovna and the maiden Mengden, but a consequence of Elizabeth's psychological trauma, and this could be treated more tolerantly. As for the rest ... we have before us, frankly speaking, a very ugly picture of a career made by petty indulgence, meanness and encouragement of the worst that is in the character of Elizabeth.

And what is probably the worst - in this career, the smart and useful that the newly-made Count Pyotr Shuvalov carried in himself was completely ignored. His talents were not the basis for a career, it was a court career that made it possible to apply talents. There would be no court career - there would be no "Shuvalov's unicorn", and the Noble Bank, and the abolition of internal duties. That is, to put

it simply, Shuvalov's talents were revealed by accident. They were in no way in demand at the court of Elizabeth, even if she was, according to V.O. Klyuchevsky,

"... smart and kind, but disorderly and wayward Russian lady" ... connecting "... new European trends ..." with "... pious domestic antiquity"

[50. S. 342].

It's just that there are different temporary workers ... This young Vanya Shuvalov, who courted the elderly empress, who was fit for him in

very young, but still in mothers, turned out to be a efficient and, moreover, capable of making a career cousin. And I don't have the courage to explain to readers in simple Russian words what kind of sensations the empress depended on Shuvalov's career and what place decisions were made to give him ranks, titles and the opportunity to realize their ideas.

CLIMB

But here's what is absolutely amazing: regardless of the completely mediocre government under Elizabeth, the rise begins! And the economy, and social life, and culture.

Judge for yourselves: in the 1750s, robbery sharply declined, and order in government was being established. That is, there is enough of the former exoticism, still from the times of Peter the Great - there are also volosts where there are more robbers than law-abiding residents. Mounted robbers also attack villages - especially in remote provinces.

At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the legal consciousness of the population remains the legal consciousness of the times of the civil war, turmoil, collapse. Not anywhere, but in St. Petersburg, the Little Russian gentry Leshchinsky was killed and robbed by soldiers standing guard near his house, and in Moscow, in Zamoskvorechye, soldiers broke into the house of the merchant Petrov at night, "beat to death" and stabbed his

wife and niece with swords and belongings were looted. If we talk about the criminal world itself, then in terms of its organization it can compete with the

Chinese "triads" and the Sicilian mafia. In the Dmitrovsky district (that is, in the very center of the country!) In the village of Semyonovsky, which belonged to Major Doktorov, robbers and murderers from his peasants were identified. An officer with a team sent to the village returned without success, brought 14

people wounded by the peasants of Semenovskiy. In the Vladimir region, in the Sokolsky volost, the robbers burned two villages. In the Suzdal village of Pestyakovo, the robbers came "crowded", looted and burned the church, the landowner's house and peasant households, killed five peasants.

In Astrakhan, the fishing gangs were "run over" on two karbas by robbers of up to 50 people who had cannons, guns, and gunpowder. Having robbed the artillerymen, the robbers told them that they would rob on the high seas. Who said that Rus' did not know sea piracy?! The legendary

Vanka Cain, this Russian mafioso of the 18th century, whose number of subjects exceeded ten thousand (not every general commanded such an army!) appeared in Moscow during the reign of Anna Ivanovna.

And it is under Elizabeth that the famous robber can not only be arrested, but re-recruited - made the head of the Moscow criminal investigation. And Vanka Cain, the storm of high roads, begins to harass his yesterday's accomplices himself ...

The appearance of so many robbers gives rise to their new quality: it becomes unclear where is the gang of criminals, and where is the rebel army? I can give only one analogy - honghuzi in China. There, too, to the borders of the country, to uninhabited places, many quite decent people fled, simply forced to flee from starvation in devastated villages and towns, where there is still no industry, no opportunity to feed themselves, if driven from the earth. These Honghuzi rob as they move across the country, levy tribute on the seized volosts, and in the "non-resident", outside government-controlled lands, they sometimes conduct regular agriculture - after all, as they were, in their psychology and in their way of life, they remained primarily peasants .

Of course, such a phenomenon as "Russian Honghuzi" in itself indicates that something is unfavorable in the Russian Empire. Such masses of forcibly de-peasant lumpen can arise only in one case - if the government does not govern, but fights. Well, the people respond to the government with their military actions (which may be immoral, but deeply natural).

Is it any wonder that this phenomenon grew during the reign of Peter, remained at about the same level under his first successors, and declined during the reign of Elizabeth? Firstly, the government stopped extracting taxes using the methods of the Baskaks and Tatar invasions - that is, it stopped

fight with your own people. And any person has a real chance - to earn a living by honest work. The government ceases to devalue the fruits of regular work and decent behavior. Secondly, a new social order is being established. Unfair,

bad, dishonest, wrong... whatever! But, nevertheless, this is the order, the rules of the game of life. These rules can be denied, not recognized, criticized ... but they exist. Chaos is replaced by some kind of order. So it was in 1613 - even those who were actually against the election of the Romanovs, rejoiced that the Troubles had come to an end.

The government is sending soldiers to the Volga, placing garrisons on the high roads. But even earlier, under Anna Ivanovna, it fought against robberies, but there was absolutely no result. Now the fight against the robbers has a positive result - primarily because their social base has been reduced. The robbers have nowhere to take new members of their gangs, some of them disperse, trying to return to honest work. And besides, the nobles

living on their estates create a very bad prospect for the robbers: these are armed people, accustomed to fighting, moreover, united and convinced of their rightness. Noble houses are centers of order, strongholds of government policy. And the rise of the economy begins ... Indeed, in troubled times, only

marauders and criminal elements feel good. In order to work regularly and get something for it, you need stability. Sowing a field in April, you need to be sure that you will harvest in September and sell it in November. Stability in itself makes the life of workers meaningful.

By the 1750s, two large agricultural zones were defined: black earth and non-chernozem. In the black earth region, the land is of great value, the yields are high; corvée reigns here, and the landowners try not to let their peasants go either to earn money or to run their own economy. Let them work on the landowner's black soil and thereby bring income to the master! In the non-chernozem region,

the land is not of such value, the yields here are low. Peasants here often go away for part of the year to

seasonal crafts, there are many centers of local crafts such as Gzhel and Khokhloma. This is the dominance of dues, and the peasants in these places are less downtrodden, more active, more independent.

That is, a phenomenon is being activated that arose a hundred years ago, in the middle of the 17th century - the All-Russian market. The economy becomes less natural, exchange and specialization become more important.

As a result, from 1740 to 1760, the export of grain for border, the export of hemp, potash, malt, wool, and leather is also growing.

The years of Elizabeth's reign marked the beginning of what we, not without reason (and not without pride) call "Russian culture of the 18th-19th centuries."

Indeed, what existed before Peter had no direct continuation in the 18th-19th centuries. Some cultural phenomena are successive - for example, portraiture. But most of the phenomena of culture - philosophy, science, architecture, literature - are built on completely different foundations. But before Elizabeth, cultural masterpieces that arose on the old foundations

of the 17th century (they simply will not be allowed to rise) cannot appear, nor can any new masterpieces grow in forcibly implanted European forms - it's just that the time has not come yet.

In the era of Elizabeth, it was customary to consider the period between the death of Peter (or from the moment Anna Ivanovna came to power) and the accession of Elizabeth Petrovna to be a kind of political and cultural failure - a time when the "fundamentals of Peter's policy" were distorted by foreigners who seized the throne. With the permission of Elizaveta Petrovna, I would make two small clarifications to this provision: the failure lasts not 11 or 16 years, but 52 years and begins not in 1725 or 1730, but in 1689. And the failure consists not in "retreat from the beginnings of Peter I", but in the rejection of the already achieved level of culture. The Tsar-Antichrist declared what exists in Rus' to be non-existent, the holy - sinful, the

rational - madness and backwardness. But it takes time for something else to grow... Generations of destroyers are not the creators of cultural masterpieces. Talking about the culture of this era deserves a separate large book, and I will simply point out the phenomena of the era. Without their detailed analysis.

Under Elizaveta Petrovna, Moscow University and a gymnasium appeared under it; Academy of Arts; Russian drama theatre. Grandiose opera performances begin. The construction of the Tsarskoye Selo and Winter Palaces, the Smolny Cathedral in St. Petersburg, the garden and park complex in Tsarskoye Selo and other masterpieces of the Baroque is underway and is being

completed. This is the time of the most productive work of Alexander Sumarokov, Bartolomeo Rastrelli, Mikhail Lomonosov.

This is the time of the first Russian non-religious philosophers: N.N. Popovsky, I.M. Shaden, A.M. Bryantsev. They are still the disciples of the Germans, only in a hundred years will a truly Russian philosophical direction arise: Russian cosmism. But even these first ones already raise such philosophical problems as the nature of man, his purpose, happiness, future, mortality and immortality. And in their approach to the material, in the very way of asking questions, something far from student is

already visible. This is the time of such natural scientists as M.V. Lomonosov, G.V. Richman, L. Euler. By the way, the Baltic German Richman accepted Russian citizenship and considered himself Russian - although he hardly spoke Russian. But Leonhard Euler spoke Russian fluently and considered his "Petersburg periods", when he lived and worked in St. Petersburg, the most productive. Even better than his 25 years of work in Berlin, at the Prussian Academy of

Sciences. In the 1740s G.Z. Bayer created the Norman theory, and M.V. Lomonosov immediately rushed to fight her. Echoes of both theory and controversy around it are sometimes heard even now.

One of the first Russian lawyers S.E. Desnitsky, a lecturer at Moscow University, created a number of original works on the theory of state and law. In

literature, this is the era of A.P. Sumarokov and early G.R. Derzhavin, in painting - I.Ya. Vishnyakova, A.P. Antropova, I.P. Argunov, sculptural portraits by B.K. Rastrelli. The artists, of course, are also still students, but in their works something completely non-German is already visible: a direct, slightly naive and poetic perception of the world. In the 1750s, the first

opera enterprises opened in St. Petersburg, the largest Italian theaters began to operate.

composers: B. Galuppi, T. Traetta, D. Cimarosa.

This whole stream, and not at all dried up, having a colossal continuation, stretching for centuries, proves only one thing - that European culture, the forms of which are being reproduced, is not at all alien to Russians. I do not see in this proof of the fidelity of the "Peter's reforms" (sorry, but still not reforms, but Peter's ruin). Rather, it is the ripened fruit of what developed, grew throughout the entire Russian 17th century, was monstrously distorted and inhibited by Peter, but still left its mark. However, I will talk about this in another book [2]. What is very characteristic is

that European culture immediately, from the first experience of its reproduction in Russia, acquires some special features. First, it is very

ideological. In any deed, in any achievement, even in the field of mathematics or music, a Russian tries to see not just something pleasant and useful, but some kind of triumph of enlightenment, confirmation of the value of "Peter's reforms" or proof of how good Russians are.

At the opening of the gymnasium of Moscow University, a student of Lomonosov and Ivan Shuvalov's protégé, Nikolai Nikolaevich Popovsky, addressed the gymnasium students, in a speech in which even a modern Russian will see something familiar:

“If your hunting and diligence will be, then you will soon be able to show that minds are given to you by nature the same as those that entire nations boast of; assure the world that Russia did not have time to enter the number of enlightened peoples more due to the late start of the teaching than due to impotence.

[51, p. 92].

This feature can touch with its naivety, can annoy or make laugh, but there is also something very ancient in it - a manifestation of the Orthodox vision of the world, characteristic of Byzantine scholars, highlighting only positive or negative phenomena in it, inability to treat them as neutral. Well, a very national feature ...

Secondly, the Russians act as naive statesmen who sincerely believe that education should serve the state, strengthen the state. In this respect, it is interesting to compare the correspondence between Helvetius and Ivan Shuvalov. Helvetius does not doubt the necessity

“... to give some freedom to the writers of your country, but meanwhile such freedom is certainly necessary. You can't run with chains on your feet, you can only run with them crawl”.

And Ivan Shuvalov sincerely does not understand why someone needs freedom from the state! Enlightenment for him does not at all imply the provision of any freedom of creativity; before enlightenment, the task is rather to develop state enlightenment, introduce the principles of pragmatism and rationalism, lead the national culture to flourishing and, ultimately, lead to the emergence of a great many talented, educated, qualified - and, moreover, loyal and patriotic subjects, faithful servants of the throne and the Fatherland.

Both of these features of Russian culture were clearly manifested in the discussion about Normanism. Well, first of all, what is Normanism? What are we talking about?

The Germans were the first to talk about this in the service of the Academy of Sciences: G.Z. Bayer and G.F. Miller. Due to their unique position, they spoke both Russian and German and had access to historical sources both in Russia and in Europe. In the chronicles of the city of Aachen, the capital of the empire of Charlemagne, there is a record that in 800 several large people dressed in skins had to be detained: they spoke Swedish among themselves, and the state of Charles was just at war with the Swedes. These people told about themselves: they are from the city of Kyiv, from the Rus tribe; they have a king called a kagan, and they pay tribute to the Khazars. It was a sin not to use this record to explain early Russian history. Bayer concluded - from the point of view of a historian, completely correct - that the Rus are a Germanic tribe and that statehood in Rus' began from the conquest of the Slavs along the Dnieper by this tribe. And he assumed, of course, that in The Tale of Bygone Years it is told just

about the calling of this tribe under the guise of calling Rurik, Sineus and Truvor. Nothing more!

Bayer never said that the Slavs did not have statehood before the Germans. Bayer never claimed that Ancient Rus' was not created by the Slavs. Bayer never concluded that the Slavs were incapable of creating their own statehood. In general, he never made any far-reaching conclusions, especially of a political nature.

These conclusions were not made at all by Bayer, not by Miller, and not by the Germans at all. These conclusions were made by Mikhailo Vasilievich Lomonosov, in his heroic struggle against the notorious German dominance in the Academy of Sciences. The coming to power of Elizaveta Petrovna became for Lomonosov about the same as it becomes for another modern ... (I omit the epithet) the arrival of a new General Secretary - an opportunity to eliminate competitors and win back new points in his career. Moreover, the queen is struggling with German dominance, with deviations from the course of Peter I! Somehow she fights more in politics and administration, but the Academy of Sciences is also a creation of Peter the Great! And the Germans also picked up this creation for themselves, and even invent all sorts of offensive theories! They also mock, offending Russia, the Russian people and the ruling dynasty! And who opposes them?! A Russian scientist (albeit with a German wife),

a peasant son from near Kholmogor! To make it more convincing, Mikhailo Vasilyevich translated what Bayer and Miller wrote in German, and he didn't translate it very correctly, and besides, he asked some questions

and drew his own conclusions from them ... It turned out to be a terrible semi-scientific nonsense in the spirit of the already well-known statement about the fact that the wild Slavs were never able to create their own state, but the Normans, fortunately, conquered them, brought a high culture and made them a state. And it's good that they brought it and did it. Otherwise, the Slavs would have sour outside of civilization, they would have vegetated in savagery. Because they themselves are not capable of any creativity, and the word "Slavs" itself comes from the German sklave, which means "slave". And naturally, the dynasty of Russian princes is

All this nonsense was attributed to the creators of the Norman theory and received a magnificent political sound, directly tied to the slogans under which Elizabeth came to power: Bayer and Miller, who had not yet known about the sabotage perpetrated by Lomonosov, turned out to be direct supporters, assistants and ideologists of Minich and Osterman, minions of German dominance and personal enemies of Peter I and Elizabeth (here it would be nice to remember that it was Peter I who passed off his second wife, Elizabeth's mother, as a German all his life).

Elizaveta Petrovna learned from Ivan Shuvalov about Lomonosov's heroic struggle against Normanism, got acquainted with Lomonosov's writings... And she was horrified by Normanism, and at the same time delighted with Lomonosov. Even if Bayer and Miller had been given at least something to answer, Elizabeth would not have been able to understand them - of course, she was a very good woman and a very patriotic queen, but learning German was beyond her weak feminine and royal powers.

Since then, Lomonosov became a member of court circles, began to read verses glorifying Elizabeth on holidays, and although, apparently, he did not deeply respect Elizabeth, he received a lot

from her. Well, here is an example of one of the first ideological battles, which will then be so many in Russian and Soviet science.

CONTRACT

What is the reason for the rise, even flourishing, which begins in the Russian Empire from the time of Elizabeth?

One reason I have already pointed out is stability.

The second reason is even more important than the first; so much so that without her, the first would not have happened. The fact is that Elizabeth, the first of the Russian tsars since the time of her grandfather, Alexei Mikhailovich, begins to pursue a

consistent domestic policy ... In such a policy, the government and the monarch can take two very different positions: they can balance between the interests of different groups of the population, trying to unite them, find points of contact, and if this is not possible, to dictate their will from the standpoint of the general, state interest. This is exactly what Alexey Mikhailovich did.

With the same success, the monarch can rely on some one class, one estate, one group of the population. And to conduct policy mainly in its interests. This is exactly what Elizabeth did, placing her state at the service of the nobility. She's not the first, of

course! Different kings

reign between 1741 and 1762, there is very little in common between them. But in some respects, the government of Elizabeth, and then Peter III and Catherine II so consistently continues what Anna Ivanovna started, as if it were one government of one king. Each gives something to the nobility, and the next only expand, give new and new.

Of course, Elizabeth does not take anything from Anna given to the nobility and adds to this the privileges and rights of the guard. With her, the Noble Bank appeared, which gave loans at 6% per annum. In fact, the bank economically supported the nobility, making their estates more profitable. Under Elizabeth,

the landowners acquire more and more rights over serfs.

In 1754, on the initiative of Peter Shuvalov, a Commission was created to develop a new Code to replace the hopelessly outdated Council Code of 1649. The death of Elizabeth in 1761 prevented the completion of this work, but a whole team of up to thirty people worked on the text.

By 1761, towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the third and, moreover, the most important part was completed: "On the state of subjects in general." The part that determined into which estates Russian society is divided, what privileges and duties these estates have, and in what relationship they are to each other.

Let's say briefly: the nobility, according to this document, received everything. Everything. The "Code" is drawn up as if the nobility really is the entire population of the Russian Empire.

And the peasantry is given over to the power of the nobles as if the peasantry is not part of the country's population, but part of the animal world.

"The nobility has over people and peasants their male and female sex and over their property full power without flaw, except for taking away the stomach and punishing with a whip and

works on them torture. And for this, every nobleman is free to sell and pledge those of his people and peasants, give them as dowries and recruits and strengthen them in all sorts of fortresses, at will and for trade for a while, and let widows and girls to marry strangers, from villages to their other villages ... to translate and teach various arts and crafts, to marry the male sex, and allow the female to go in marriage and, at one's own discretion, to serve, work and send, and use all kinds, except for the above, to inflict punishments or to punish them in judicial governments to represent and according to to his reasoning. Repair forgiveness and release from that punishment "

[52, C 119].

I don't think this document needs commentary. I will only note that this is even more power than the nobility could expect to receive. The second blue dream of

the "Russian noble nobility" was the release from compulsory public service. It is absolutely known that this release was part of the plans of the staff of the Commission for the preparation of the Code. It turned out that the release of the nobles from service was already carried out under another emperor, but much was done under Elizabeth.

And under Elizabeth, the nobility felt like a subject of law and politics, and if these terms would have seemed too tricky to the then nobleman, then please! The nobility had every reason to consider itself a support to the throne. And under Elizabeth, they received very strong evidence that the government recognizes, considers them a support to the throne and intends to treat them as the only representatives of the people; with the people as such.

Naturally, the nobility served such a government not out of fear, but out of conscience, carried out its orders earnestly. And restoring order in the country was understood, among other things, as clearing one's present or future property. After all, lands that already belong to the nobility directly or indirectly, or lands that may belong to them, are cleared of robbers. Are destroyed

intruders who damage the property, first of all, of the nobles - because, after all, the peasants themselves killed by the robbers, and the huts burned by them, are noble property. By killing or maiming a peasant, the robbers inflict damage on the master, that's how it is ... The peasant himself, it turns out, has no property ...

Of course, the government does not even start talking about any such constitution or about limiting the power of the emperor. Ivan Shuvalov's fantasies remain arguments about the "basic laws" that the monarch and subjects amicably observe. But the nobles receive so much that in their extraordinary privileges there are already some guarantees of personal and property security. "We wanted guarantees"... Well, they get guarantees, although in a completely different way than the constitutional one.

In essence, a kind of tacit agreement between the government and the nobility arises, something like: "You are not trying to limit the power of the monarch and do not demand a constitution ... that is, we still turn back what we want. But we give you such privileges so that you have guarantees of personal independence and that a government official could not really ruin or even offend you. And so we return what we want, but only as long as you agree with this and as long as we do not violate your interests.

A political system emerges, which was once aptly called "autocracy, which is limited by a noose." It is possible, of course, and more beautiful: "autocracy, limited palace coup. There is a difference?

Chapter

7 THE MOST MYSTERIOUS HALF A YEAR IN ALL XVIII CENTURY

Precisely because he was ashamed of me, he stuffed me with Nazi principles like a Christmas goose.

D. Cusack

HOLSTEIN DECK, OR A GERMAN CORPORAL ON THE THRONE

One of the first acts of Elizabeth, who became empress, was to pull her nephew, Peter, Peter, little Petrusha, out of Holstein. She remembered people and, as a rule, wanted the best for them, and besides, Elizabeth loved her sister Anna. The nephew became both the heir to the throne, and one of the few relatives in a greatly thinned family, and a living memory of Anna. This nephew so disappointed the Empress Elizabeth that we will have to talk separately about the reasons for this disappointment. Anna Petrovna was married

to the Duke of Holstein, Karl Friedrich, by her father, Peter I. The marriage took place immediately after the death of Peter, on May 25, 1725. For some time, Karl Friedrich was even a member of the Supreme Council, but Menshikov quickly squeezed him and Anna out of Russia: he did not want either the appearance of another heir to the throne, or the presence of too independent people in St. Petersburg. And the voice of Karl Friedrich at the Supreme Council sounded very independent: the son-in-law of the late emperor and the empress sitting on the throne, Karl Friedrich considered his position higher than the position of Menshikov and did not see the need to reckon with him more than with other courtiers.

Well, "Danilych" intrigued them to return to Holstein. The couple signed a document in which they renounced their rights to the throne

Russian Empire for itself and for its offspring. To

what extent it is true that the marriage was unsuccessful and loveless, it is difficult for me to judge. In Russia, it was said that Karl Friedrich was cruel, rude, quarrelsome and did not appreciate his wife, preferring her rude entertainment and pleasures to society. In the minds of many of Elizabeth's courtiers, poor Anna was very unhappy with her

husband. This seems doubtful to me for two reasons: - firstly,

no one in Holstein knew about the misfortune of a young woman, but it is well known in Russia; - secondly, Anna

Petrovna, the Russian victim of evil foreigners, according to the ideology adopted during the reign of Elizabeth, should have turned out to be deeply unhappy, and Karl Friedrich was ordered to turn out to be a brute. That is, the young

husband drank, as they say, "black", and all his life he cherished two dreams: to win back from Denmark the part of her duchy, Schleswig, that she had captured. And the second dream is to get drunk "properly." But one might think that both the father and other men surrounded by Anna Petrovna lived by other, more lofty interests. Already for her, a drunken father was a completely ordinary sight. So who is the drunken beast here ... But the

spouses were happy or not very happy, and on February 10, 1728, a male baby was born, baptized by the court Lutheran priest Karl Peter Ulrich. Giving the baby several names and thus dedicating it to several heavenly patrons at once was in the spirit of all of Europe - both Catholic and Protestant.

To adequately celebrate the birth of the firstborn Karl Friedrich, heir to the Holstein throne, a magnificent fireworks display was arranged. During this merry action, misfortune occurred: a powder box exploded, several people died, and many in a dense crowd were injured. Of course, the author of these lines does not believe in omens and can only explain by ignorance and superstition the chatter that immediately arose throughout Holstein: supposedly this explosion is a bad omen for a newborn! Of course, signs are the

purest water of superstition, and not a single civilized, cultured, self-respecting and decent person

doesn't believe in omens. Therefore, the terrible fate of the newborn Karl Peter Ulrich, who at the age of 33 was overthrown from the throne and killed by his own wife, Sophia Frederica of Anhalt-Zerbst, named Catherine in Russia and reigned under the name of Catherine II Alekseevna, must be considered a perfect coincidence. The very age of the death of Karl Peter Ulrich is suggestive - this is the "ruby age", the age at which Christ was crucified. An old European belief says that at the age of 33, those who are cursed by their parents or who carry a curse from birth die; and those who survive this year will live long. But all this, of course, is pure superstition, and Karl Peter Ulrich died at the age of 33 by accident. As well as pure chance and his terrible childhood, and the fact that

his misfortunes, in fact, began with this fireworks. Because the happy mother of the heir to Holstein, Anna Petrovna, could not stand it, got up to look at the fireworks, stood at the open window, from which it breathed damp and cold air. The ladies of the court

tried to persuade the Duchess, who had not grown stronger after giving birth, to close the window and move away from the flow of cold air.

- You can get sick! You need to take care of yourself, if not for yourself. yourself, then for your son and husband! - so said those boring Germans.

"We Russians are not as pampered as you, and we don't know anything like that! replied the duchess with a laugh. Then she fell

ill with a disease that the doctors of that time called "fever"; modern doctors argue whether it was pneumonia or meningitis ... In any case, ten days later, on February 20, 1728, Anna Petrovna died. Her body was embalmed and sent to Petersburg on the same frigate on which the Duke and Duchess arrived from Petersburg two and a half years ago.

They say that one who grew up without a father is half an orphan, without a mother is a complete orphan. The fate of Karl Peter Ulrich confirms the validity of this saying - after the death of his mother, he was left alone in this world. The father took care of the upbringing of the boy, but did not bring him closer to himself, was not a warm person for him, and, apparently, did not love his son at all. Moreover, some hopes were associated with this boy, now collapsed ...

By marrying Anna Petrovna, Duke Karl Friedrich expected to become not the last person in fabulously rich Russia. It didn't come true; either Menshikov's intrigue, or his own inability for politics, ruined the duke's dreams.

Before the death of Anna Petrovna, there was hope that Russia would at least a little materially support the impoverished court of the Dukes of Holstein. After the death of Anna Petrovna, funds ceased to flow from Russia, and a cold wind from the sea whistled in the dank, unheated rooms without wallpaper, and hungry rats squealed in the empty kitchen. Until 1730, one could hope for the

accession of close relatives of Karl Peter Ulrich in the Russian Empire, and then a new drawing of the "Russian card" became possible. But after Anna Ivanovna came to power, Elizabeth sat quieter than water, lower than the grass, and Anna Petrovna's son turned into a "Holstein devil." Karl Peter Ulrich, of course, is not to blame for anything, but it's hard to believe that, let's say,

some disappointment did not affect his fate ... The reflection of unfulfilled hopes lay on the baby already regardless of the will and those around him, and even more so himself.

He will help us out of need and improve our affairs! - the Duke of Holstein sometimes said to his unsatisfied courtiers in torn caftans, pointing to his son - the second, after Elizabeth, heir to the throne of the Russian Empire. He used to say the same about Schleswig - they say, this fellow

help us win it back.

Did he really believe what he was talking about? Karl Friedrich died before his words could even come close to reality: in 1738. According to

rumors, he died, having fulfilled one of his cherished dreams: drunk to the point of stupefaction. And one more thing ...

It has long been known that

"a married man who depends on his parents and his wife's parents is shamefully pathetic and ridiculous"

[53, p. 40].

What can be said about the feudal lord, an independent monarch, who is unable to fill the storerooms in his own palace and put on a caftan without holes in his elbows without handouts from St. Petersburg, from the relatives of his deceased wife?! It is hard for me to believe that these considerations did not influence Karl Friedrich's feelings for his son. I repeat - he kept his son at a distance, never took him in his arms, did not caress, did not talk to him more than necessary.

What was meant for this boy? The Duchy of

Schleswig-Holstein lies on the border of Denmark and Germany proper, occupying the south of the Jutland Peninsula. It arose in 1386, when the counts of Holstein conquered the neighboring principality of Schleswig and annexed it to their possessions. In 1460, the principality became a vassal of Denmark, and in 1544 the dynasty changed in this state: the Dukes of Gottorp (Gottorp), relatives of the branched dynasty of Oldenburg, who ruled in Denmark and united with them by the Kalmar Union of Norway and Sweden, came to power. The reign of the Oldenburgs had its own breaks, its own problems, but they had the rights to the Scandinavian thrones, and they had absolutely real chances to take these thrones. The Duke of Holstein

was chosen as Anna's husband because he could claim the Swedish throne. Peter I counted on a successful dynastic marriage to put his relatives on the throne of Charles XII, and perhaps his grandchildren. If not the Swedish throne, then Holstein. He was brought up in accordance with this fate - to be a

monarch in a German Lutheran country. Karl Peter Ulrich spoke the first words in his life in German, and all other languages, including Russian, were foreign to him. Baptized in Lutheranism, he never doubted the tenets of this denomination. The German-speaking Lutheran world became his world simply by birthright, and Russia became a distant barbarian power.

At the age of seven, the boy was given to be raised by court military officials: Adlerfeld, Bremzen, Wolf. Armies played a huge role in the life of the German principalities, who were always at war with each other or threatened each other with war. I will not argue which comes first - the national character of the Germans or this eternal military danger, but the army and everything connected with the army, with army life at courts

German princes literally turned into a mania. It was believed that every sovereign prince and, in general, every nobleman should be primarily military, should be unsurpassed in the conduct of military operations, campaigns, camping, bending gun barrels, attacks and assaults, rifles and pistols, howitzers and gunpowder grades.

And in everything that accompanies military life. What kind of a nobleman is he who does not know the insignia, does not recognize the position of a military man in the army of any of the German and European states by his uniform, does not know how to conduct divorces, command a company and a regiment, does not know how to walk neither drill, nor ceremonial, nor "goose", not a marching step, does not distinguish between

building in a line and building in a dense square ?! The heir to the Duke of Holstein learns rifle techniques and marching, goes to divorces and shifts, listens to the music of a military band and takes part in officer feasts. The father himself asked that his son not be singled out from others in any way, and Karl Peter Ulrich bears the hardships of military service, runs on errands, stuffs pipes for his educators in the same way as the sons of other Schleswig-Holstein nobles (and whose parents, apparently, do not have nothing against turning their children into martinets).

Perhaps there would be no particular harm in this if military service and all of it, including purely formal aspects, did not become the sole and exclusive interest of Karl Peter Ulrich. Calling a spade a spade, he was never taught anything else at all. He knows neither history, nor geography, nor physics, nor mechanics ... any sciences, neither exact nor humanitarian. He does not know foreign languages. Not only is he not well-read in any field of literature, but he can hardly read even in his native German. The very existence of fiction is not for him. very clear. He has no idea about the fine arts, and it does not interest him at all. Music? Karl Peter Ulrich loves military bands, smiles while they play, bliss spreads across his face and he stamps his foot to the beat. Any other types of musical art are unknown and uninteresting to Karl Peter Ulrich (it's hard to say which to a greater extent).

Moreover, he is not prepared for the role of the monarch at all. Karl Peter Ulrich does not know how and does not want to rule. He does not like rituals, without which the monarchy is impossible: all these assumptions to the hand, kind smiles, mastery of his face, the ability to build political alliances and groupings. He knows neither the contemporary politics and relations of the then states with each other, nor the history from which, ultimately, the present state of affairs is born. He does not understand what a political group and a political party are, what alignment of forces prevails in Sweden, the Russian Empire, or at least Schleswig-Holstein, what must be done so as not to violate it and how it can be used. He does not know the economy, he does not understand the laws of movement of capital, goods and population, he is not able not only to calculate, but even to understand how certain shocks on the stock exchange or a large crop failure will affect international or domestic politics. In a word, it is simply terrible to imagine him on the throne. During the stay

of Karl Peter Ulrich in Holstein, only one attempt is known to teach him at least something not directly related to the army. It happened after the death of his father, when Karl Peter Ulrich was brought up in the house of his paternal uncle, Lutheran Bishop Adolf Eitensky. In 1751, this man became the Swedish king ... But actually, Karl Peter Ulrich was supposed to become the Swedish king! By the way, he was offered the Swedish throne first. By that time, Karl Peter Ulrich had already been rebaptized into Orthodoxy and was the prince, Grand Duke Peter Fedorovich, officially proclaimed heir to the throne of the Russian Empire. He could no longer become the Swedish king, and his uncle, Adolf Eitensky, became him. It is very difficult for me to imagine that Adolf of Eitensky could have expected

in advance that the obstacle between him and the Swedish throne in the person of his nephew would disappear by itself ... And if so, then it is even more difficult for me not to link the cruelty of the humble servant of God Adolf to his own nephew and his own ambitions. It was during these three years that Karl Peter Ulrich spent in Holstein, in the house of his dear uncle with blue blood (there is an old European belief that the representatives of the royal families do not have red blood, but blue, aristocratic

color), the boy was kneeled on peas many times, and for such a long time that his knees turned red and swollen, and then he could hardly walk. At the same time, his uncle von

Brumer, as a punishment, hung a donkey cut out of cardboard around his neck or tied him to a table and explained to everyone who entered the room what offenses he was punishing for.

pupil.

Then they began to teach him theology and the Latin language. Theology was taught by the court pastor Hosemann, who at one time baptized Karl Peter Ulrich, and Latin was taught by the rector of the Latin school in the city of Kiel, a certain Mr. Jul. Karl Peter Ulrich hated and despised Mr. Jul and remembered him even shortly before his death, already the emperor of the Russian Empire. As for the Latin language, Karl Peter Ulrich hated its sound, books in Latin and forbade buying them and keeping them in the palace library.

I am quite convinced that the school of Herr Jules was the best way to turn the little prince Karl Peter Ulrich away from all learning and in general from everything intellectual.

However, shagistics, parades, divorces, military bands,

Cowskins dull crackle And
Prussian pipes mouse squeak

[54, p. 11]

- all this was enough in the house of Uncle Adolf.

How can you explain the uncle's behavior? Lack of love for the nephew, this is understandable. Envy of the future Swedish king is also disgusting, but understandable. The stupidity of an uncultured, spiteful Protestant priest, who considers it almost a destiny from above to drive Latin and theology into children? This is the most obvious.

But very often it seems to me that there was another side to this ... The fact is that Karl Peter Ulrich was, in addition to everything, a very sickly child. He was frail, frail, caught cold easily, often felt bad, easily and quickly got tired. Such a teenager is not very difficult to bring to a completely natural,

death, it would seem, if treated badly enough and made as miserable as possible. I warn the reader - this

assumption of mine is absolutely based on nothing, except for the characters and mutual relations of the characters. It may very well be that my suspicions are unfounded, and narrow-mindedness and natural stupidity are quite enough to explain the actions of Prince Adolf. But really, it is difficult not to share with the reader doubts of this kind - there are too many grounds for them. In any case, during these years the army remains an

idol for Karl Peter Ulrich, and service and reverence for service is a way of life. At the age of seven he is made a non-commissioned officer, and three years later he is promoted to second lieutenant. Karl Peter Ulrich considered this day the most significant and happiest in his life - even as emperor and commander-in-chief of the Russian army. And the most terrible punishment for him was not standing on peas and not whipping Mr. Yul, but a ban on watching a military parade. In the form of the most terrible punishment, the boy was locked in a room, and the lower part of the window was covered with sadistic accuracy with paper so that it was impossible to see what was happening in the square. Until the end of his days, Karl Peter Ulrich was

not only an army maniac, but also remained monstrously limited: he sincerely did not understand that those around him were not obliged to share his predilection. He not only regarded as nonsense and a sign of inferiority any spiritual life in which the army, and especially parades and shagistics, did not occupy the most important place. He was incapable of understanding from the bottom of his heart that someone did not need military ranks or did not enjoy wearing a uniform. Already an adult - Emperor Karl Peter Ulrich (then already Pyotr Fedorovich) became at the age of 33 - he, delighted with the talents and abilities of Nikita Panin, made him a general. He, of course, categorically refused, and then the emperor blurted out loudly to the whole palace:

- And I thought Panin was really smart! Only a fool would refuse to be a general! And in this

spirit, the Emperor of the Russian Empire spoke many times, on a variety of occasions.

To some extent, this penchant for the army, for the barracks, for stepping is just the most common feature of the stratum in which Karl Peter Ulrich was brought up. After all, who are they, his teachers: Wolf, Bremzen, Adlerfeld? Marshal of Holstein Brummer and General Berchholtz who came with him to Russia? His own relative, the servant of God Bishop Adolf? The inclinations, cultural level, intelligence of these rude and stupid martinets are capable of once and for all turning away from the hereditary nobility. A wild peasant who never even tried to learn anything; maniacs of divorces and parades, enthusiastically cramming the charter and not really knowing their own German language. Ridiculous brutes who love obscene swearing, unable to utter a few phrases without mentioning devils or sexual acts. People who are so disrespectful of themselves that they are capable of beating women and priests. Hams, for no reason at all, despising learning, culture, honor, a high way of thinking (maybe just because the "grapes are green"?), Snorting derisively from their barracks after everything that their wretched imagination cannot reach. That's who they are - the people of the social stratum to which Karl Friedrich belonged and in which his son and heir, Karl Peter Ulrich, was brought up. And who are these dukes? Counts?! Kings?! Yes, dear reader, it is. Who wants to continue

to indulge in illusions about the "refined and educated nobility", you are welcome. But the fact of the matter is that this titled cattle is a fairly typical environment for the German nobility, including the highest. Karl Peter Ulrich, even for this environment, is unnecessarily stupid and limited, but, firstly, it is within its typical limits - so, the limiting version of the norm, no more. And secondly, there are very, very good reasons for these extremes of his ... Firstly, Karl Peter Ulrich is very lonely. Few people

do not have a mother and few whose father is so indifferent to his child. For

him, leaving for the barracks is leaving for a world that is ready to accept him, take a proper place, give friends, a bit of warmth. To do this, it is absolutely not necessary to be a prince or a young duke, and, having become a second lieutenant, Karl Peter Ulrich during a friendly feast

asks other junior officers to call him "you". He really wants to be "his" ...

And secondly, there is a certain strangeness in the fate of this heir to the three crowns (Swedish, Russian and Holstein) - he is prepared for the reign even less than his mother or aunt prepared. Denying the boy what is rightfully his, whether out of envy or out of bitter disappointment, the relatives stuff the boy with the mores and ideas of the German barracks. Another mine

under the Russian state? That's probably not the case, it's more like a mine near Sweden. And, of course, under his own duchy.

NEPHEW AND Aunt

Elizabeth was horrified when she saw her nephew for the first time: skinny, with an unhealthy complexion, sickly, and besides, he doesn't speak Russian at all ... Fatten! First, feed! Karl Peter Ulrich greatly appreciated this part of his kindred care, and for two months he almost continuously ate something, to the envy of those who remained in Holstein.

Just as quickly, Karl Peter Ulrich was baptized into Orthodoxy, named Peter Fedorovich and proclaimed heir to the throne. There were no difficulties with this. But with Elizabeth's other

plans for the "devil" (she, however, more often called him "nephew"), everything turned out to be much more complicated, including through her own fault. Elizabeth wanted a lot, almost impossible: to find a loved one in someone who was brought up in a different social environment, in completely different living conditions; and in someone who is already psychologically very disfigured. And at the same time she wanted her nephew to be well brought up and educated, to correspond to his place in life. These were two different, not very compatible tasks - because Elizabeth herself was almost uneducated, not prepared for the reign, and becoming a close person for her meant not at all what trying to become a good king. With one hand, the empress found a teacher for her nephew,

who seemed to really be able to do something with the "nephew". It was academician Yakov Shtelin, an art critic and engraver, collector

historical anecdotes (which the author of these lines also used) and the author of the most interesting memoirs about the era of Peter III, about the events of 1740–

1760 [55]. In 1742, Yakov Shtelin exchanged the 33rd year of his life; since 1735 he has been in Russia, knows it well and loves it. A good-natured, calm and gentle person looks from the portraits ... But he is also not devoid of typical German features, including the core of an iron will, and the ability to do as he sees fit. It is felt that this person does not take both patience and perseverance; that he very much "knows how it should be" about many things, and is ready to make considerable efforts to do "the right way." In a word, Yakov Yakovlevich Shtelin, apparently, was a typical product of Germany ... but just the Germany that the titled peasant despised and about which Peter III had absolutely no idea.

Elizabeth introduced Peter and Yakov Shtelin in the same way touching, how I met my nephew:

"I see that Your Highness is often bored and must learn a lot of good things. And therefore I assign to him a man who will occupy him pleasantly and usefully.

At least, this is how J. Shtelin himself conveys this story.

Yakov Yakovlevich perfectly captured the interests of Peter, and it cannot be said that he did not take them into account. He taught Russian history using ancient coins that he brought with him to classes, or made models of ancient fortresses and ancient guns; brought books with drawings of fortresses and cities. Peter III

was fond of playing tin soldiers, and he willingly played them not only during this period of his life, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, but also much later, at least up to thirty years. So, talking about historical events, Shtelin and his pupil painted the soldiers in the colors of the uniforms of the warring parties and played the capture of fortresses and the conduct of hostilities.

Shtelin expounded the latest history of Russia according to the medals of Peter I, and twice a week he read European newspapers to the pupil. Through articles in them, the pupil got acquainted with the history of European states, with politics, and at the same time with maps and globes.

In short, Yakov Yakovlevich knew how to entertain the student ... But he was quite adamant: was there time for classes? We will

study! Is his highness not feeling well? Let's call the doctor, let him say whether the prince is able to practice. Is his highness tired? Then we will take a walk, and during the walk we will talk about important subjects. Shtelin's system quickly began to give results, but

the fact of the matter is that with one hand giving Shtelin the opportunity to educate and educate the prince, Elizabeth with the other hand interfered with him with all her might. That is, she probably sincerely wanted to see her nephew at the level of the tasks set, but just as sincerely, just as ingenuously, she did not understand that time and effort were needed to achieve a result. And that Stehlin's authority cannot be counterbalanced.

Elizabeth wanted her nephew to know the French language and history, but, wildly ignorant, surrounded by equally ignorant people, she herself considered any teaching to be boring and a senseless pastime. And she let her nephew notice her attitude: our queen was simple,

what to do.

Having reunited with her nephew, Elizabeth did not want to part with him even for an hour and, of course, considered it necessary for him to participate in social life: in constant balls, masquerades, holidays and trips. There is a good American proverb: "Your deeds speak so

loudly that I can't hear what you're saying." Elizabeth spoke loudly about the benefits of teaching, but she herself canceled classes, drove Shtelin, considering fun and drinking much more important than French. And she herself made a sly expression on her face: they say, you are still small, you teach geography, and we will do something more interesting.

Pyotr Fedorovich never fell in love with either his aunt or her court. Convulsive fun, dancing, orchestras - it was simply not interesting to him. He danced badly and with boredom, did not play cards, and if he sat down, then in the most primitive games that did not require complex calculations. Have intimate conversations until the morning? But it was difficult for the prince to talk for a long time, there was nothing to talk about, and he knew Russian poorly. In addition, he did not know how to drink for a long time, savoring drinks and snacks, while enjoying communication and fun. Peter is usually quick

he got drunk and went to bed, and the opinions of others and their activities did not interest him

at all. He did not even know how to debauchery and did not want to. The ladies did not understand the hints and courtly conversations (or did they "understand"? God knows ...), but once he took one of the Lopukhin princesses out of his bedroom by the hand. That is, he had novels, but mostly before Elizaveta Vorontsova. Since he was frankly carried away by Elizaveta Vorontsova, he did not hide his passion, and somehow pushed communication with other ladies away. It is difficult to judge what Elizabeth was like, because we know about her mainly from enemies - from the court minions of her happy rival, Catherine II. In their own mouths, "red-bearing Lizka" is almost a

compliment. I did not study the complexion of Elizabeth, I will not argue. But it seems that Elizaveta Vorontsova could boast of upbringing, education, and general culture. And she was very, very smart.

But whoever Elizabeth was, whether she could make the happiness of the prince and heir to the throne, and Peter was very passionate about her, he even planned to divorce Catherine and marry Elizabeth. And what is characteristic - Peter III Fedorovich was faithful to Elizabeth. Several times other women appeared with him, but each time it was short-lived, and Pyotr Fedorovich hid these novels from Lizaveta Romanovna: he did not want, apparently, to make her unpleasant.

So Peter did not look for and did not want a courtly game of love, meetings, partings and scenes to the music in the dance hall or when walking. In which one can see both some primitiveness and the behavior of a mentally healthy person.

So the court of Elizabeth was unbearably boring to Peter (and he himself was boring to this court), he felt tense at the court, he had no interesting activities in the palace. Peter quickly began to shy away from masquerades and balls, from drunkenness, feasts, dances, walks. Not because he longed for bookish wisdom and fell in love with Stehlin's company. Just the position of the empress gave him an excellent opportunity not to study, and he made every effort to study less. So the aunt's plan to form

a prince ran into resistance from the aunt herself. He even spoke and wrote Russian

badly, and almost did not speak French. He did not feel hatred for these languages, as for Latin, but he did not really know them either.

In Shtelin's diary there is a very curious place where it is indicated what the teacher and the student were doing, and the assessment - how the student reacted, how the student did. I'll give an excerpt:

“October 6, 1743. Compiled a profile along this line on the plan.
- Very good. October 7th. Started
reading about Denmark. — With need. They drew
profiles according to the old Dutch drawing in order to correct
an old mistake. - Relentlessly. October 1st. They
continued the story of the impostors showing the benefits that
the neighboring powers wanted to extract from Russia, and often did.
— Absolutely
thoughtlessly.

October 1st. They studied the ancient history of Denmark until
Voldemar III. - Violent. 10
October. Profile from the Cohorn plan. - Wonderful”.

Well! It is impossible to deny the prince, at least, in one excellent quality - in purposefulness. The prince wanted to do only one thing, his favorite - the army! And he does it “excellently” or “tirelessly”. And he does not want to do everything else, and therefore he does it “violently” or “completely frivolously”. But from this, of course, it does not at all follow that the mores of the aunt's court become more interesting to him. He uses the position of his aunt for only one thing - to combat the hated doctrine.

But what did Pyotr Fedorovich do if at court he tried not to
didn't want to show up and learn?

Well, firstly, he played soldiers, building hundreds and thousands of armies, arranging huge "battles" in scale. There was both energy and time for this.

Secondly, the prince trained

dogs: he taught them to jump through a hoop, jump over a bed, and so on. "Training" basically consisted in the fact that the prince yelled at the dogs, beat them with a stick

or started handing out pieces of meat for no reason. Not a single dog taught by him to jump through a hoop is known to history.

The courtiers were very embarrassed by this occupation of the prince: in Russia they remembered that Ivan IV also began by torturing dogs and cats.

Thirdly, the prince communicated with people close to him. It is very important that he was faithful to these people, communicated with them for many years, took care of them. First of all, it was Lizaveta Vorontsova. In the second - his personal servants: the huntsman Bastian and the dwarf Andrei brought from Holstein. Already the third

echelon should be called Holstein officers, with whom Peter constantly met, talked for hours, drank beer and played all sorts of idiotic games. One of them consisted, for example, in the fact that at first they drank a lot of beer, and then jumped on one leg, trying to give each other a knee in the ass. An exciting game ended with everyone, laughing wildly, fell on the grass. Another and also very interesting game was that you had to drive a coin along the table

with your nose - who is faster. The one who quickly went around the whole table with a coin was the first to drink a bottle of beer as a winner. Peter literally did not digest some people of this circle - for example, Marshal Brumer. The pompous, stupid martinet did

not become famous for either victories, or battles, or any reasonable deeds. If Brumer became "famous" for something, it was perhaps with a phrase uttered before their joint trip to Russia with Karl Peter Ulrich. In the presence of several people, under the approving cheering of the court rabble, Hofmarshal von Brümer, the unfortunate uncle of the prince, famously twisted his mustache and spoke out, explaining how he would educate Karl Peter Ulrich, entrusted to his care:

- I will flog you so often that you will not be able to keep up
wipe the blood off your ass!

Fortunately for Peter, von Brümer did not have the opportunity to succeed in his system of education, and even vice versa ... On the day of his coming of age, the official end of von Brümer's guardianship, Peter grabbed him by the scruff of the neck and (again under the roar of the Holstein martinet) began to beat with his own stick. He thrashed and cried with pleasure, took revenge for many years of grievances. Lord, Thy will, to what extent can Thy creation be brought ...

But even after coming of age, Peter did not send von Brumer to Holstein. Because with the same von Brumer, Peter could discuss and condemn the Russian language, the Russian people, the order in the Russian Empire, and generally speak with him in the same language, familiar from childhood. I do not mean the German language - I mean the concepts and customs of the same environment

common to them. Here, Prince Pyotr Fedorovich, and then Emperor Peter III, had very, very few Russian friends. And then rather trusted servants than friends.

Fourthly, the prince studied music. There are two opposing opinions about his work. According to one of them, the prince sat on a high-backed chair and blew into a trumpet. "Played" is not entirely accurate, he just blew over and over again, extracting the most erratic sounds from the pipe, and could sit like that and blow for hours. According to the

second opinion, the prince learned to play the violin from his footman, the huntsman Bastian, and every day he played as much as time allowed. Gradually he began to play very well, and the sounds of the violin carried throughout the palace, from the open windows and around the palace.

It may very well be that these two versions of the prince's musical pursuits do not contradict each other at all. Well, he blew into the pipe, he liked the sounds he was making, and then Bastian turned up with his violin ...

In any case, in the last years of his life, Peter often played the violin to his friends, and Lizaveta Vorontsova, and "just like that", for himself. It is also a fact that he played the violin on the day of his overthrow from the throne. So he played for several hours in a row, all gone into music. The way to switch

off, to put it mildly, is strange for a blunt corporal on the throne, as they try hard to present him. But the fact of the matter is that Peter, more and more often, in the last years of his life, very often performs very strange actions, performs actions that were in no way expected from him. Either he turned out to be the smartest

and even witty person discussing church reform, then he was a complete idiot, jumping around with wild cries, trying to kick other "players" in the ass. Either he knows how to bring the most talented reformers of the empire closer to himself, or he is unable to understand the role that the guard plays in the life of the Russian Empire. That shows himself a faithful lover, and judging

around, makes the right choice; then "point-blank does not see" what a terrible, deadly enemy his married woman turns into wife.

I often think that a lot of things struggled in this man - from hereditary burdens, the poisonous blood of the Antichrist Tsar, to very different cultural influences. Too bad Elizabeth was so inconsistent! Yakov Yakovlevich studied with Pyotr Fedorovich for three years - from 1742 to 1745, until he married and the classes were not recognized as superfluous. During this time, if Stehlin had a monopoly on working with the prince, he could probably change something. It is sad that he did not have a monopoly. By the way, Peter treated Yakov Shtelin well and made him his court librarian, and Shtelin remained so even under Catherine II. But Peter and Shtelin were never close people.

Involuntarily I want to say in the spirit of Woland:

"Yeah, he got a good job..."

[56, p. 195].

Of course, the "nephew" did not become his own at the court of Elizabeth, and what is worse and more dangerous - he did not become his own among the Russian nobility. They laughed at Pyotr Fyodorovich; Pyotr Fedorovich was not only not loved, but also not respected. No matter how limited, uncultured and wild most of the nobles were, Pyotr Fedorovich, even against their background, was limited, uncultured and wild.

Such a primitive type - and on the throne ?! This seemed dangerous to many. As long as there was no choice, as long as only Peter III could be elevated to the throne of Peter I, he was still tolerated, but no more.

In addition, Pyotr Fedorovich often behaved absurdly and ridiculously, and not only in his own bedroom, blowing a pipe and "training dogs." For example, he showed his tongue to the priest during a church service. There was a case when the impressionable priest fainted: he turns around to wave the censer in the direction of Pyotr Fedorovich, and the heir to the throne shows his tongue to him! Yes, and the heir to the throne, then the emperor easily

offends people, offends, even severely offends. About the story with Panin, I already

told, and here is another story with Grigory Razumovsky ...

During the construction of the Winter Palace in the middle of the city, a huge square was left, littered with construction debris. Various cleaning methods were proposed, requiring different times, but not less than two weeks, and different means, but not less than several thousand rubles. And Razumovsky, almost for the first and last time in his entire life, gave wonderful advice: we must allow the inhabitants of St. Petersburg to take everything they need from the square themselves. There is a shortage of wood in St. Petersburg, just let me, they will immediately take it away! The advice turned out to be very good: in three days the construction site was cleared, and all that was left was pits.

But how did Emperor Peter III react: - Let's take the advice. Razumovsky knows better than we do what a simple Russian peasant needs. That

is, the emperor deigned to poke Razumovsky into the fact that everything around was of noble origin, and he alone was the son of the Ukrainian peasant Grishka Rozum, who had infiltrated himself into the aristocratic circle. Why did you take it and poke it? And just like that; it may very well be without even thinking what he is

doing. And this case is not the only one! The emperor cursed Chancellor Vorontsov several times for delaying some documents, he scolded generals and colonels at his favorite divorces with all the bad Russian and German words that he knew, and he had the richest vocabulary.

And very often Pyotr Fedorovich, and then Emperor Peter III, explained in the same words what he thinks about the pig Russian language, there his mother, the idiotic Russian people, damn it, and about this whole filthy country of fools, so that she could fail another hundred once, so her and so through the knee, on this her and here in this.

Contempt for Orthodoxy, for the traditions of Russia, for the country, people and language is easy to forgive a foreign mercenary or a Holstein prince - after all, he is not obliged to love us. It is more difficult to forgive these qualities to the heir to not the Holstein, but the Russian throne. How will the one who despises Russia govern?!

In addition, even for the most tolerant person, Pyotr Fedorovich possessed not quite imperial qualities. Not only

"dog training" and "trumpet playing" alarmed and frightened. The heir was deceitful and cowardly. A

coward in the full sense of the word - he was afraid of cannon and even rifle fire, especially close ones. That is, all his passion for the army was not a passion for murder, after all, not for violence, but for uniforms, music, the consonant movement of columns: parades and ceremonial marches. A harmless hobby: in the sense that it was already impossible to imagine him invading a neighboring country, leading the battles.

Moreover, he

never went on a bear hunt and in general to hunt a large, dangerous beast. He shot well and for the sake of entertainment he shot down the swallows that fluttered around the palace.

There was a case when Pyotr Fedorovich did not agree to approach a tame bear for any money: despite the fact that the beast was on a chain, and many courtiers came up and gave him bread. Pyotr Fedorovich could not bring himself to approach the bear. And what was

the bewilderment of some, the hidden delight of others, the venomous mockery of others, when Peter began to talk about his participation in the battles of the Holstein army - invented from beginning to end. The poor kid was just lying, trying to create a biography that he wanted to have.

Again, it is very easy to feel sorry for the boy. In a teacher, this behavior causes not a rage of reproach, but a desire to just tear the guy away from the pompous fool Brymer, send his uncle, even though he is the Swedish king, with Pyotr Fedorovich's favorite words, and give him what he needs most of all - an educator like Yakov Shtelin, a kind, smart aunt (in complete submission to Shtelin) and a gradual inclusion in smart work, which makes it possible to build oneself, one's personality. Another question: is such a miserable,

notorious person suitable for emperors ?! But perhaps the most important, the most dangerous

thing that

Pyotr Fedorovich is the cult of Charles XII and Frederick II of Prussia.

The cult of Charles XII and Frederick II of Prussia was sucked in ... however, Karl Peter Ulrich did not know mother's milk, and the Russian princess Anna Petrovna did not have this cult. But German warriors, especially warriors from the nobility, adored these two kings, and Karl Peter Ulrich

diligently adopted their inclinations, in no way departing from the traditions of Holstein and other small states of Germany.

Well, at least Charles XII has long been dead and will not be able to take advantage of the adoration of Pyotr Fedorovich. But you can't say the same about Frederick II, and the inclinations of the Empress's nephew can turn into a serious danger at any moment.

GREAT EUROPEAN POLITICIAN

If you want to found a dynasty, you need to marry the heir to the throne ... Having declared "dear Petrush" the heir, the aunt consistently began to look for his wife. It would seem that it is easier? Well, find him some glorious Mashenka Trubetskoy, Tanechka Miloslavskaya or Katya Dolgoruky. In the end, becoming an empress is flattering to many, the family of royal relatives will stand like a wall at the throne. And among Mashenek and Katenek it is not so difficult to find a creature that is not stupid, and affectionate, and ready to be betrayed.

"To take pity" is not the most noble way of communicating with ladies, but any sane girl, having learned the details of the fate of Petrusha, an orphan from birth, brought up by stupid and cruel blockheads, would water her pillow with tears and, if she didn't fall in love, then in any case would show great interest. And, of course, she would forgive a lot to the crippled heir to the throne.

I do not rule out that for many, including for Elizabeth herself, this was a very good option. But such a simple solution to the problem ran into two obstacles ... Firstly, the country still remembered

very well how the powerful clans of the Miloslavskys, Streshnevs, and Lopukhins clashed at the throne; The Naryshkins, who became relatives of the tsar, how greedily they seized positions, ranks, rents, ransoms, any opportunities to fill the money. I didn't want to go back to this, especially in an era when the Table of Ranks created (in the 18th century "table" was a feminine word) at least the illusion of stability, common starting opportunities for the nobility, the ability to overcome the egoism of individual families.

Secondly, the emperors of the Russian Empire did not at all feel equal to their subjects. An interesting thing, but

an era when the Tsar of Muscovy was almost deified, he could well marry a girl not only from a noble family, but also from an artistic one. The Streshnevs and Naryshkins were not at all from the upper strata of society, not from the aristocracy. More important than the origin of the bride was her Orthodoxy.

For emperors, the origin of the bride became much more important than Orthodoxy. They, emperors, tea, reigning persons! It is not appropriate for them to marry girls whose dads and grandfathers did not polish the throne ... with their pants (you were expecting me to say a completely different word? But I'll deceive your expectations and say quite decent!). If the descendants of Peter did not seek to connect their dynasty with all of Europe by family relations, then the tradition of taking brides from the German princes was very to their liking. Moreover, most of these sovereign princes are erratic, forced to save on food and clothing, and the principalities themselves for the most part are completely insignificant both in area, and in the number of subjects, and in their material values. Marry a French or English princess until the Russian

emperors "do not shine" - they will not give them a princess from a strong centralized state. But the princesses from the German principalities, half-starved and wild - that's it! These themselves are ready to dance even a minuet, even a cancan, if only to get into the Russian queens. As the ill-bred Princess Elena Gagarina puts it, they "sit on their thrones with their bare butts," and

really, the lovely princess is not so far from the truth in her savory assumptions.

And Elizabeth, not having time to get her beloved nephew Petrusha, begins to look for him a "suitable" German bride.

Bestuzhev wants to marry Pyotr Fedorovich Marianne, Princess of Saxony, daughter of the Polish King August III. Then an alliance could be formed between the maritime powers, Sweden or England, and Saxony, Austria and the Russian Empire. This alliance will stop the growth of Prussia and the strengthening of France...

But Prussia is a traditional ally! An ally since the time of Peter, and it is very difficult for Elizabeth Petrovna to deviate from the traditions of her father: this is against the ideology of her reign! Yes, and Friedrich of Prussia does not yawn, he watches his interest, in modern terms,

with all his might he "lobbies" for the desired marriage of the future emperor with his sister Ulrika. But here

it becomes necessary to explain who it is

Frederick and the king of what state fate judged him to become!

In 1657, two eastern German states united: the Electorate of Brandenburg, whose name was given by Branny Bor of the long-slaughtered Lutichs, and the Duchy of Prussia, standing on the land of the Prussians, also exterminated long ago.

This great event, which laid the foundations of a new state, became possible because Brandenburg was originally an ally of Sweden ... Sweden was at war with Poland, and, knowing the inclinations of the Electors of Brandenburg, there was no doubt that they, too, would try to tear off a piece of territory from Poland ... But the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm (1620-1688) turned out to be even more greedy, cunning and meaner than they thought about him. He suggested that Poland break off relations with its former ally, Sweden, and even promised to send a whole small army of 6,000 people to the war with Sweden - on the condition that Poland renounce its rights to East Prussia ... Not just refuse, of course. And in favor of Brandenburg, whose vassal from now on will be Prussia. At this point, it was more important for Poland, exhausted by

the war, to get soldiers and get rid of a possible Brandenburg strike than to save East Prussia. The deal ... that is, the contract took place; the anti-Polish alliance instantly became an anti-Swedish alliance, and then Brandenburg created a single state from these two German lands, and the electors adopted the title of dukes of Prussia - after all, the title of duke is higher than the title of electors. According to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the electors annexed

East Pomerania and a number of other lands to Brandenburg, quickly rounding off at the expense of their neighbors. To make everything seem even

"more fun", let me remind the reader that both Brandenburg and Prussia were born as a direct result of "drang nach Osten" - "onslaught to the east", the conquest and Germanization of Slavic lands. And Prussia, moreover, is a fragment of the territory of the Livonian Order; when it collapsed under the blows of Muscovy from the time of Ivan IV,

enterprising masters of the order became secular rulers, formally subordinate to the Slavic state. The East German states are

incomparably less cultured than the West German states in the Rhineland, in Bavaria, or, say, the Duchy of Westphalia. The difference in the social structure of France and the lands of the west of Germany is not so great; but the difference between the German west and the east is enormous.

The trading cities in the west were much more confident in asserting themselves as independent of dukes and kings; the universities in Mainz, Cologne and Frankfurt became visible throughout Europe. The nobility was losing privileges and becoming bourgeois before our very eyes.

In the east of Germany, everything is both more primitive and much less civilized. East of the Elbe, as in the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, with In the 15th century, the exploitation of the peasants increased. Corvee grew, reaching 5-6 days a week; peasants were driven off the land in order to increase the lord's plowing. In some states of Eastern Europe (Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Poland), it was even allowed to turn serfs into courtyards, depriving them of land, selling without land, changing and donating. Historians speak of a special phenomenon: the "second edition of serfdom."

Historians rightly speak about the reasons that gave rise to the phenomenon: about the growth of capitalist relations, forcing the landowner to throw as much marketable grain as possible on the market, turning both the land itself and labor power into simple "means of production". Only now capitalism was everywhere, but here, pay attention: in Germany, the "second edition of serfdom" was not everywhere at all, but only to the east of the Elbe. In the west of Germany, the nobility

became more and more bourgeois, less and less willing to serve in the armies of local rulers, more and more eager to run their own economy, and not receive rent from the government. Here, in Brandenburg-Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm laid the foundation for absolutism, created a regular army, and suppressed the protests of nobles and cities against centralization.

The state of the electors of Brandenburg and the dukes of Prussia was large compared to other German lands, but primitive and backward.

Frederick I, Elector of Brandenburg from 1688-1701, received the title of king for supplying soldiers to the Holy Roman Emperor for the War of the Spanish Succession. The kingdom of Prussia was born,

the capital of which since 1657 was Königsberg, and since 1713 - Berlin. The son of Frederick I, Frederick William I

ruled from 1688-1740. He was famous for his ingenuous conviction that if subjects belonged to him, then their property also belonged to him. And if the king of France was forced to pay more than anyone else for any product or service, he bought and at the same time rendered a favor to the subject, which had a very specific financial expression. At the same time, the King of Prussia did not pay anything. There are cases when he put his hand into the pocket of a rich merchant and directly rejoiced at the booty: that's how much he pulled out!

The king did not tolerate his subjects idling. Here the townspeople in front of the palace chatted, having come to the city fountain. And then the king flies out to them, very fat and at the same time very swift. The king rushes to the poor women, spewing the most disgusting foul language, and it's good if they can run away: the king will not only scold them as "poop", "scoundrels" and "prostitutes", he will also beat them with a stick. And the king ran very fast, despite the decent size of the belly. However, what are all sorts of stupid women who came for water! The king beat the court

priests with a stick if he did not like their sermons.

"What are these filthy pigs that I feed for who knows what?!" the king yelled and brought down the stick on the priest. The king did not tolerate dirt and slovenliness. The police were ordered to raid the city and break badly washed glass in private houses.

The king was very frugal. If Elizabeth had 15,000 dresses, then he had only one caftan, and the king wore it until the caftan spread right on it. But even if it was necessary to sew a new caftan, there were also buttons! Copper buttons were transferred to a new caftan, and the king personally made sure that they were not replaced and poured into lighter ones, boldly hiding part

metal.

The king believed that he alone had the right to decide what his son should do, and decisively in all areas of life. Let's say the king found out about his son's passion for a certain Dorisa Ritter, a petty noblewoman from Potsdam. From the point of view of the king, this Dorisa Ritter was in no way suitable for Frederick's wife - that is, under no circumstances, and the king went into a complete rage.

According to some reports, the king himself tied the unfortunate girl and began to beat her with a stick on the back and behind, until the bloodied scraps of Doris's clothes scattered around. According to another version, the king acted more royally; so to speak, more professionally: he ordered the executioner to be called, and already the executioner, in front of the king's eyes, beaten Dorisa Ritter into unconsciousness.

In both versions known to us, the courtiers ran to Dorisa's cries and listened with rapture - apparently, the customs of Prussia differed little from the customs of Schleswig-Holstein. Dorisa

Ritter spent the next three years in a penitentiary along with thieves and prostitutes, and dad "talked" to his errant heir in much the same way, only this time without the help of an executioner. In general, his son, the future Frederick II, the kind

daddy repeatedly beat with a stick for a variety of reasons: something the son was too fond of the French language, played the trumpet, was interested in art, read books and even corresponded with Voltaire and encyclopedists. The pope-king believed that the future king should not engage in such nonsense, and if he does, it remains to be seen whether he can be trusted with the throne. At one time, the father-king even thought of executing the unsuccessful son: all the same, he was of no use. The letters of the young Friedrich have been preserved, in which he wrote to his mother,

complaining to her about the cruelty and rudeness of his father, who constantly beats him. Until the end of his life, Friedrich retained calluses on his ribs - a consequence of daddy's methods of education. However, Friedrich's head remained in place, the pope decided not to cut it off after all; Frederick II, who sat on the throne and became king, forgave the pope and even considered him an unsurpassed educator by the end of his life. "He was able to inspire me with firm principles...

So King Frederick II of Prussia sometimes used to say, remembering a parent, and it is very difficult to determine which of them causes more disgust, father or son.

Frederick II of Prussia, who sat on the throne at the same time as Emperor Ivan VI, in 1740, was called the Great, and the Invincible, and the Beast, and, of course, "the beast, but great", and "the great invincible beast", among other things. Frederick changed little in the ways of governing his

state in comparison with the pope. Unless he attracted even more emigrants from all European countries to Prussia than he did. Indifferent to religion, he pursued a policy of religious tolerance - as long as visitors were useful and regularly paid taxes. He was served by Catholics, and Protestants, and baptized Jews.

Frederick demagogically proclaimed freedom of the press... in fact, he introduced the most severe censorship, and the newspapers of Prussia performed the glory of their king in a friendly chorus.

Frederick continued to do what his father had done all his life - he cultivated a cruel, backward state in which civil society was allowed exactly insofar as the state and the army existed above it and at its expense.

Freedom of competition, free elections, the work of town halls and magistrates - this was for the townspeople. The peasants were in the "fortress" of the landlords, and the nobles themselves were forbidden to trade, start industrial enterprises or become bankers. Nobles were ordered to serve in the army! A tough policy towards the nobles turned out

to be something good - for example, in Prussia there were many qualified and, moreover, quite obedient officers. They did not try to become the upper layer of the bourgeois, as in the Netherlands, England and Denmark, they were not corrupted by the French fiction that the king is only the first among equals. The Prussian officer served earnestly and honestly, sometimes receiving very substantial pensions and estates from the

king ... But in general, Frederick preferred one-time handouts, sometimes even very large ones - so that the officer, and even more so his children, were forced to continue serving. And of course, the Prussian officer knew perfectly well that the king

- this is a bright majesty, and not some kind of first among equals,
funny to say.

Frederick II managed, being the king of a small state, to have the third largest European army. With a Prussian population of two and a half million people, the Prussian army reached the size of 200 thousand people. However, not all of them were Prussians and Germans in general. Frederick's recruiters were looking for future soldiers everywhere, all over Europe, and were least interested in their nationality, beliefs, or their relationship to the Prussian king. It happened that a physically fit recruit was offered what we call a contract: especially those who were planned to be made non-commissioned officers. And it happened that a recruit was simply soldered, or even put sleeping pills in wine or coffee, and so, in a narcotic dream, and was taken to a military camp. And there, the guy who woke up could no longer run away: it was considered more important in the Prussian army to keep track of the soldiers.

more important than giving them food.

Friedrich went down in history with the classic saying that a soldier should be more afraid of the stick of a corporal than of the bullets of the enemy. Paul I is credited with the no less classic: "to score ten, to learn the eleventh." But even this was invented by Frederick of Prussia, and Paul I only repeated it. The regulations of the Prussian army explicitly ordered that the soldiers be kept in fortified camps, around which bushes had been cut

down for at least 50 paces, and that they should be driven exclusively along such roads that did not pass through the forest and on which there were no strong breaks in the terrain conducive to escape. Corporals received soldiers on receipt and watched them more strictly than prison guards. In no prison in the world, a guard was supposed to shoot before he shouted: "Stop, I will shoot!", Did not fire a warning shot into the air. In the Prussian army,

warning shots were not fired, and corporals and sergeants were charged with a direct duty to shoot to kill. And in no other prison in the world did such terrible caning discipline and such sadistic punishments exist as in the Prussian army. Nowhere, for example, were prisoners forced to defecate and urinate on a punished comrade. However, who was forced, and who

he himself joyfully, earnestly carried out the harsh, but "fair" orders of his beloved corporals: after all, people have a different sense of humor, and the Prussian army encouraged the worst that is in a person.

Soldiers, of course, both fled and died by the thousands, the composition of the army was quite fluid. But they were not so valuable, these ordinary soldiers, collected from everywhere, wherever possible. Trained personnel were valuable: specialists and non-commissioned officers. Specialists -

artillerymen, sappers, builders of fortresses and bridges, veterinarians and commissaries, Friedrich paid, truly royally. This part of his army did not need any means of protection, nor constant beating with a stick.

Non-commissioned officers were 90% ferocious chauffeurs, and nothing more, but Friedrich also appreciated them. It was worth a soldier to curry favor with a non-commissioned officer or show talents for technology, and the Prussian army turned out to be a completely different side for him. And

for many foreigners, it also turned into something like a foreign legion: as soon as any criminal ran away from the police and ran to the nearest recruiter, he was saved! There was no extradition from the Prussian army, just as there was no extradition from the Don, from the Cossacks. And there were cases when the killers of three people served as Prussian corporals and retired. Because if an ordinary who lost a leg or an arm was simply driven away, thrown out the used material, then for the corporal they most often bought a beer house or other income-generating property - again, to pay even a lot, but once, and not pay constantly.

The Prussian army went into battle, because its soldiers were driven to the enemy, and they, already saving their own lives, had to fight with enemy soldiers. But this army was led by good officers - better than empty parquet shufflers from Versailles or the Vienna Prater. The orders of these officers were forced to be carried out by corporals who knew their job, were devoted to their army and could count on provision for old age. And there were good specialists in it, who knew how to set in motion a battery of guns, build a bridge in a matter of hours and cure horses from glanders.

Frederick himself came up with something in terms of the army. For example, the so-called oblique attack. Then the army advanced in straight lines, and it was considered important to choose a battlefield without terrain folds, without forest,

so that you can advance in such even ranks. Friedrich came up with the idea of advancing in ranks, which on one flank go much ahead and strike earlier than on other sectors of the front. If this advanced flank were

strengthened, the enemy's even lines would almost certainly be crushed, and the Prussian army would push and then drive him with his blow, inflicted obliquely on the main movement of troops. Even during Frederick's lifetime,

knowledgeable people recalled the ancient Greek commander Epaminondas, who invented the "oblique attack" back in the 3rd century BC, but of course, the words of knowledgeable people were not able to drown out the chorus of court flatterers. So it is still believed that the "oblique attack" was invented by Friedrich .., um ... um ... Frederick for the time being Invincible. Frederick II's father spent 6

million thalers on the army out of 7 million in the Prussian budget. Frederick began to spend a little less on the army - "only" four and a half or five million thalers: otherwise he might not have enough for spies.

Frederick's spies filled all the surrounding countries. From St. Petersburg, for example, our dear ally received 5-6 letters every month, and at the same time the spies did not know about the existence of each other ... at least they should not have known. Chancellor Bestuzhev was one of the few whom Frederick failed to buy with the most generous promises. Not because Bestuzhev is so completely incorruptible: for example, Bestuzhev took money from the British and did not blush. But the Chancellor had convictions: for example, Chancellor Bestuzhev was convinced that Prussia was a very unreliable ally and that it would be better for the Russian Empire not to deal with it. And if so, then he did not take money

from the Prussians. I don't know what about the "oblique line", but Friedrich certainly invented a method widely used in the 20th century to discredit the enemy. Knowing full well what a disgusting reputation he had throughout Europe, he skillfully spread rumors that such and such was his paid agent, and everyone shied away from Frederick's enemy precisely because the enemy appeared in the form of an ally. So at one time, both the Gestapo and the KGB "leaked information", discrediting the reputation of people precisely by the fact that they collaborated with the KGB. Ch

Friedrich denounced as "the most corrupt of all ministers", and some believed this.

Of course, Frederick II could not but take part in choosing a bride for the heir to the Russian throne, for the imperial house of the allied Russian Empire. Moreover, on the way to Russia, Karl Peter Ulrich stopped by Berlin, and Friedrich had a long conversation with the boy. And his eyes were so hot...

"Of all the neighbors of Prussia, the Russian Empire deserves the most attention as the most dangerous neighbor: it is strong, it is close. The future rulers of Prussia will also have to seek the friendship of these barbarians. The king used every means to win the friendship of Russia. Empress Elisaveta then intended to marry the Grand Duke, her nephew, and although her choice had not yet been decided, she was most inclined towards Princess Ulrika, the king's sister (in the third person, Frederick calls himself "King" - **A.B.**); but the Saxon court wanted to marry Princess Marianne, the second daughter of King Augustus, to the Grand Duke. Nothing could be more contrary to Prussian interests than to allow an alliance between Russia and Saxony to be formed, and nothing worse than to sacrifice a princess of royal blood in order to drive out a Saxon. They came up with another remedy. Of the German princesses who could be brides, the Zerbst princess was most suitable for Russia and corresponded to Prussian interests. Her father was a field marshal of the royal service (in Prussia. - **A. B.**), her mother is a Holstein princess, sister of the heir to the Swedish throne and aunt of the Grand Duke of Russia. We will not go into the details of the negotiations: it is enough to know that such efforts had to be made as if it were the greatest interest in the world.

In this place of his memories, the king lied in several places, of which the main three are:

1. No one ever molested his sister Ulrika, it was he who wanted to attach her for Pyotr Fedorovich. 2. Decision

in favor of Sophia Augusta of Anhalt-Zerbst adopted absolutely without the influence of Friedrich and even without his knowledge.

The choice was made in favor of a princess from a small principality, who would not be followed by the policy of a large German state, and, moreover, a Lutheran. Catholics were traditionally treated worse, more cautiously, and it would be most convenient for the heir to the throne to raise just such a princess, whose dad sat on the throne "naked ... sing."

3. Only

after receiving news from his spies, Friedrich launches a stormy activity, interferes with all his might in the process of choosing a bride for Grand Duke Peter Fedorovich. He writes letter after letter to Elizabeth, Peter, leading persons of the Russian state - tea, ally! At first, he tries to attach his sister Johanna, but is not very

upset by the failure - from the very beginning it was clear that, most likely, the number would not work. And when the choice falls on Sophia Frederick Augustus

of Anhalt-Zerbst, a new round of intrigues, lies and streams of intrusive letters begins. Friedrich again writes to Elizabeth and Peter and, of course, communicates at length with the bride and her parents. This is not difficult - after all, his daughter, Friedrich, a subordinate, is going to Russia!

Friedrich also hosts his father, a field marshal, old beyond his years, tired of the life of Christian August, Duke of Anhalt-Zerbst, commander of the 8th infantry regiment and commandant of Stettin. I had to tinker with him: a convinced Lutheran, the old field marshal made titanic efforts not to give his daughter to an Orthodox monarch - after all, then she herself would have to change her confession, to be baptized into Orthodoxy. I had to "carry out educational work" with Christian Augustus, but where, I wonder, would he go?! Of course, he agreed to this marriage that Friedrich needed. And the mother, Johanna Elisabeth, was also received by Friedrich and

honored with many hours of conversation. Here Johanna immediately shows enthusiasm! Still - whether it's a matter of vegetating in Stettin, the wife of some general, or it's a matter of being at the court of the Russian Empire! What is called to the court

not hers at all, but her daughter, and that Johanna herself turns out to be only an appendage to her daughter, a person from her retinue, she easily forgets. And then there's the big politics! Frederick the Great himself, the idol of the environment in which she grew up, honors her with a conversation! He meets and escorts! Gives a dinner ... well, not in her honor, in honor of her

daughter, but she is also present at this dinner! From Johanna it becomes known what, in fact, Friedrich wanted from her - he wanted vulgar espionage and wanted no less vulgar lobbying of his interests at the Russian court.

He probably wanted the same thing from Sophia Frederica Augusta, but we definitely don't know anything from her - unlike the obscene mom, Sophia Frederica Augusta knew how to keep her mouth shut and also understood that not everyone would be in such a delighted with the spy assignments given to her. For example, at the court of Elizabeth, both Friedrich himself and his spies may not be perceived as enthusiastically as in Germany ... And the fate of both the daughter and her mother directly depends not on Frederick at all, but on Elizabeth, not on Berlin, but on St. Petersburg.

Evaluating people and their relationships is not easy, especially after two hundred and fifty years... And yet I can't help but pay attention to an interesting detail: in Germany at that time, few doubted that Christian Augustus was very lucky! He got a beautiful wife and 21 years younger. These qualities, therefore, - youth, a good figure and regular facial features were the main ones for assessing people and their relationships.

For me, pardon the incorrigible intellectual, it always seems to me that Johann Elizabeth was just lucky: there was an old loser who was seduced by her - an evil and rude fool, a zaposhnoy narcissistic wench. Maybe her legs, chest and neck really were "delightful" or there "wonderful" ... choose any expression. Maybe even when Sophia Frederica Augusta was a bride, her stomach remained sunken, as in girlhood, her waist was narrow, and her chest was high, there was enough energy for everything, and she walked from Friedrich, bouncing with delight. But one must be such an exceptional fool ... The most interesting thing is that these meetings Frederick II did not at all

get good, reliable spies and agents of influence for himself.

Sophia Frederica Augusta tried not to maintain relations with him and in general turned out to be extremely cautious.

Johanna Elisabeth, by contrast, did her best to both spy and support Frederick's interests at court. But it has long been known that not every spy and not every saboteur is dangerous. Only smart spies and saboteurs are dangerous, because only smart people can collect, correctly analyze information, extract the most important thing from it and send it to their government in time.

Johanna Elisabeth was not an intelligent woman, and her idiotic reports were not useful, but harmful to Prussia. As for defending the positions of Prussia at the court of Elizabeth, it was difficult to do more harm to Frederick's interests in Russia than Johanna did. And because if a fool who is not respected by anyone campaigns for something, after all, people can conclude that this "something" is such that only a fool campaigns for it! And because it is necessary to agitate also skillfully, eh. Johann Elisabeth has enough self-conceit and narcissism for three Friedrichs, but the ability to intrigue ... The day will come when Chancellor Bestuzhev will

show Elizaveta Petrovna excerpts from the letters of Johann Elisabeth and the Marquis Chétardie, irrefutably incriminating him as an intriguer and spy, and Johann as a spy.

In Johanna's letters there will also be rude attacks against Elizabeth, ridicule about her appearance - for example, figures. Johanna is so "smart", so "realistic" about everything in the world that she will devote entire pages to the most important diplomatic fact, which is of decisive importance for the fate of the entire European civilization: Elizabeth is fat, she does not have a good waist, but Johanna has a waist !

The fact is really the most important, downright determining the entire future policy of the Russian Empire and Prussia, and I can imagine how Friedrich rejoiced in Berlin, carefully studying the precious data collected by an excellent agent, but Elizabeth "for some reason" did not appreciate the collected Johanna information. The Marquis of Chétardie is expelled from the Russian Empire in 24 hours. Johanna still remains, but after a few years and her under a plausible pretext - she needs to be treated in the waters ?! - kicked out

Russian Empire. By that time, Christian August had already died (Johanna wrote to him much less often than Friedrich), and Frederick, characteristically, did not even want to meet with the unsuccessful spy, and even more so to reward her (yes, to tell the truth, there was nothing for that). Johanna had money, they didn't kick her out barefoot, but she doesn't know how to save them and think about the future; he does not know how to understand that this money is the last. Neither the Russian Empire nor Prussia will give her another penny. Johanna died in Paris in complete poverty, without really serving either herself or Friedrich.

Another day will come, also sad for Prussia, and Sophia Augusta, having become Catherine II, will also show her nose to Frederick, without fulfilling any of his orders.

And only one thing can console Frederick II of Prussia: he has such a treasure as Peter III, the Grand Duke and heir to the throne. A man who adores him so much that, even after becoming emperor, he is ready to violate the interests of his own state, to take actions bordering on high treason, just to please Frederick. It was the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, Karl Peter Ulrich,

heir to the throne of the Russian Empire, Grand Duke Peter Fedorovich, who became Emperor Peter III, who rendered Prussia a more important service than any other agent of influence in the entire history of this state. It is this man, in spite of everything, that will literally save Prussia, which is on the verge of death.

SEVEN YEARS WAR

Because, when deciding the most important question for him about who will dominate Europe, Frederick II incorrectly assesses the potential of many states, including Russia, makes mistakes in choosing allies, exaggerates his own capabilities, and as a result, Prussia does not disappear from the geographical cards only thanks to one person - Peter III. Already in the early 1740s, things

were frankly heading towards a major European war between England and France and their allies in Central Europe. Already in 1754-1756, armed clashes between the French and British began in Canada, and in May 1756

Britain declared war on France. This led to fundamental changes in all European politics. Fearing that Prussia

would attack Hanover, the hereditary possession of the English kings, Britain concluded an alliance treaty with Prussia, openly directed against France and Austria. The treaty gave a free hand to Prussia with respect to Austria, and this forced Austria to immediately conclude an alliance with France.

The Russian Empire was forced to reconsider its policy: it was always pro-English and always allied with respect to Prussia. Now it turned out that Britain is an unreliable ally, and Prussia generally thinks only of its own interests and will betray at any moment. This discovery was not only diplomatically important, but also emotionally hurt: while laughing at Frederick, trying to limit the "too exciting" king, they still trusted him. In the winter and spring

of 1756, two all-European blocs were formed: Britain, Prussia, a number of German principalities dependent on British handouts, on one side. And on the other

hand - Austria, France, the Russian Empire, Sweden, Saxony and most of the German states that are part of the Holy Roman Empire.

Sweden wanted to take over Pomerania; Austria - return Silesia captured by Prussia. France wanted to capture Hanover and thereby take Britain by the throat. The Russian Empire itself wanted to annex the Duchy of Courland, make Poland its vassal, and establish itself among the German principalities. The most

realistic was the behavior of England and France - they fought for the colonies, and military operations in Europe itself were important for them mainly as a way to secure their rear. If Britain had not had a continental appendage in the form of Hanover, she would not have needed an alliance with Prussia at all.

But Napoleon would have envied the plans of Prussia. Based on an alliance with England, Prussia wanted to conquer Saxony, and give the Saxon king Bohemia (Czech Republic), which also had to be conquered. In addition, Prussia wanted to annex the Duchy of Courland, round off its territory at the expense of the Polish Pomerania, and make the rest of Poland its vassal.

One does not need to be a great diplomat and politician to understand that the second coalition is much stronger than the first. It is simply naive to rely on British help in continental affairs, and Prussia's own forces are not enough to cope with such powerful enemies.

Nevertheless, Frederick, who is still called the Great for some reason, in August 1756 threw his huge and ridiculous army against Saxony, easily defeated it and included the Saxons in his army, and threw the Austrians back to the very river Eger already in Hungary. There

was no war then in the winter, even the mild winter of Central Europe, and from November 1756 people did not

kill each other. In April 1757, Friedrich left the 30,000-strong corps of General Lewald in East Prussia - suddenly the Russians would come, and he himself went to fight with the Austrians in Bohemia with the main forces, trying to defeat them before the approach of the allies. And of course, I didn't! Actually, he was forced to retreat from Prague and withdraw his troops even before the arrival of the French and German principalities after the defeat inflicted on the Prussian troops at Kolin by the Austrians.

And then the French army of Marshal d'Estre (70 thousand people) occupied Hesse-Kassel and Hanover, another army of the French prince Soubise (24 thousand French and 33 thousand Germans, soldiers of the Holy Roman Empire) threatened to invade Prussia itself.

And from that moment, from the autumn of 1757, just a year after the start of the war, Frederick was forced to rush about: the enemies were pressing from different sides; having defeated one, he was immediately forced to rush at another coming from a different direction. At the same time, Frederick's army has a clear qualitative superiority over the Austrians, Germans and even the French: their armies are just as rude and wild as his own, the soldiers in them are also recruited from pine forest, so that the Allies did not and do not have political superiority. But in training, training, the Prussian soldiers are superior to the Austrian ones, and even more so, its professional officers are superior to the parquet sharks. Frederick

smashes the army of Prince Soubise and immediately rushes south, into Silesia, clears it of the Austrian army, because while he was at war with Soubise, the Austrians went on the offensive, occupied Breslau and besieged Schweidnitz.

And then another 70,000-strong Russian army invades East Prussia in May 1757, takes Memel on July 24, smashes Lewald's corps at Gross-Jegersdorf on August 19, and the Swedes invaded Pomerania in September 1757. There is no power

to stop the Russians and Swedes, and even this is not the most important thing: the robber glory of the "invincible" Frederick has disappeared forever. He was defeated, he is running, Shuvalov's howitzers are already roaring on the territory of Prussia, the troops are moving towards Koenigsberg, one of the capitals of the state; at the same time, the Prussians cannot even dream of a raid on the territory of Russia and a threat to St. Petersburg or Moscow. The balance of power is catastrophically not in favor of Prussia, and already in the autumn of 1757 it was completely defeated. By November of this year, it was quite possible, if not to achieve unconditional surrender from Prussia, then at least to achieve her withdrawal from the war and conclude with her a peace that the victors

by no means conclude. But here one of the mines planted under the Russian state by Peter I and his unfortunate heirs works, and this mine is called Pyotr Fedorovich. When

leaving the church, Elizaveta Petrovna falls unconscious. Raise her?! But it's like you can't touch people when they have a "hit" ... Died?! It seems to be breathing ... The Empress is covered with a cloth, but they are not lifted from the ground, they are waiting - will she recover or not? Two hours later, the empress gets up, and although she has been sick for a long time, there is no da

... And a messenger is already jumping into the army and carrying a by no means official version of the court of Elizabeth. Because in the country, in addition to all other joys, a conspiracy has also matured. Chancellor Bestuzhev does not want and is afraid to give the Russian throne to Pyotr Fedorovich. Even though he was baptized into Orthodoxy, Pyotr Fedorovich feels much more like Karl Peter Ulrich, an admirer of Friedrich. Such a fanatical admirer that even the stupidities done by his idol, even the complete defeat of his "invincible" army in several battles, cannot change his attitudes or at least make him more reasonable and critical.

Even for a private person, such a position is not a sign of a vast mind, but for the heir to the Russian throne in the conditions of the war with Frederick, it is behavior bordering on treason. A conspiracy is formed: in the event of the death of the empress of the throne, Pyotr Fedorovich will not

to give, to proclaim the emperor of the minor Pavel Petrovich (he was born in 1754). Ekaterina is a regent, Chancellor Bestuzhev is actually a dictator. According to some reports, the commander-in-chief of the army operating in East Prussia, Stepan Fedorovich Apraksin, the son of the "most land admiral" Fyodor Apraksin, an associate of Peter I, is also involved in this conspiracy. However, there is no exact data

on Apraksin's treason, it is very possible that he acted and by itself, from personal, so to speak, considerations. After all, and without any conspiracy, everyone

understands that as soon as Pyotr Fedorovich is on the throne, peace will be immediately concluded with Prussia, and the general who fought with the troops of Frederick will immediately fall into disgrace.

In any case, S.F. Apraksin did not use the victory at Gross-Egersdorf in any way, did not finish the occupation of East Prussia and did not occupy Königsberg (which was expected by everyone, including the Prussian government and the inhabitants of Königsberg itself).

As soon as he learned about the illness of the empress, Stepan Fedorovich immediately ordered to retreat, and the retreat of the Russian army most of all resembled a stampede, which ended only on the right bank of the Neman River, in

Lithuania. Some historians see this as a desire to lead an army to St. Petersburg in order to put Pavel Petrovich and Catherine on the throne, bypassing the legitimate heir. For other historians, this flight proves that Apraksin was not involved in the conspiracy and did not know anything: after all, Apraksin would have been late for decisive events anyway, and the army would not have gone to storm the Winter Palace. If Apraksin had been aware of the conspiracy, he would have just gone with might and main to Königsberg, would have done his duty as 99% of the Russian nobles wanted, and of course, the government of the country, and the government of Elizabeth, and the not yet existing government of Pavel Petrovich .

Apraksin himself argued that he was not guilty of anything, - they say, the army is undressed and undressed, the soldiers are hungry and cold, the horses are falling from starvation, and in general ... The government has no particular doubts about his guilt, including belonging to a conspiracy. The arrested Apraksin is not even taken to St. Petersburg; near Narva, in a tract with a very "suitable" name Four hands, people from the Secret Chancellery interrogate him with passion. On one of

During interrogations, Stepan Fedorovich falls, as they said then, with a "blow", that is, simply, in modern terms - with a stroke, and dies without regaining

consciousness. Both Apraksin's testimony and the very fact of his death can also be interpreted in different ways. Why was he not taken to St. Petersburg at all? Wanted to hide from those who could help out? Did you want to hide someone who could be "removed" from sin away as an unreliable ally? They wanted to interrogate someone who could know a lot, and, according to his testimony, carry out new arrests? God knows...

He did not show anyone, he did not confess to participation in the conspiracy ... Why? Because the truth did not participate in it, or just managed to hide the ends in the water? For example, they found with him three letters from Catherine, the wife of Peter and the mother of the heir Pavel. The letters are quite patriotic, but there could have been others that were destroyed (and these

were left as camouflage). In general, questions, solid questions, and it is not at all obvious whether Apraksin was a conspirator or not. But whether he was or was not, the Russian army was withdrawn from East Prussia. The victory at Gross-Egersdorf was not continued in any way, it was not realized. There is no Königsberg occupied by Russian troops, there is no attack on Berlin, and if so, then there is no way to quickly end the war.

Whoever he is, Apraksin, an associate of Bestuzhev and a conspirator himself, a cowardly courtier, capable of sacrificing the fruits of a difficult victory for the smile of the emperor, or just a blockhead who does not correspond to the position of the commander in chief, in any case, the mine laid under the Russian state exploded.

If there had not been such an heir to the throne in the Russian Empire as Pyotr Fedorovich, Apraksin's behavior (whatever it was directly called for) would have made no sense. Moreover, the flight of the already victorious army organized by him would mean the end of any career for him. And the more cunning Apraksin would be, the more cunning and selfish he would be, the more furiously he would have to go to Königsberg, lead East Prussia to submission, and then unite with the Swedes - and to Berlin! In late autumn 1757 or spring 1758, as soon as the grass turns green and the first birds fly, at the very least by the time neat German mallows bloom in the gardens, Friedrich should have

would either smear tears over his ferocious gray muzzle, stained with gunpowder fumes and his own snot, or sign a contract that is not good for him, meaning the complete decline of Prussia for all eternity. Or Frederick was supposed

to be carried away in a wagon carrying the captive king to Petersburg. I can imagine the scene - Friedrich smiles sweetly, tries to promise money to the guards, and these are Bashkirs or Tatars; they don't understand Friedrich and only make bad and unambiguous gestures, showing how they will make him "shinny head" if he tries to escape ...

And in the evening, Prince Yusupov talks with Frederick with close officers Kara-Murza and Hakim-Bek, feed the captive a lamb and drink koumiss by the fire, vigilantly watching so that he does not run away. And they conduct edifying-intellectual conversations in French with the stunned ex-king about the humane principles by which the monarch should be guided ... They talk, pour koumiss, and shout and sing in Tatar at the neighboring fires ... All

this, please note, is not at all the author's nonsense and not a manifestation of some specific dislike specifically for Frederick of Prussia (all conquerors are equally unsympathetic and unpleasant to me). This is a description of the quite probable fate of Frederick of Prussia, which quite realistically could have taken place already in the autumn of 1757 or in the spring of 1758 and did not take place for only one reason - because in the Russian Empire his "stubborn fan", Karl Peter Ulrich, was the heir to the throne. Woe-emperor, capable of giving up his empire for a platoon in the beaten-killed Russian army of his idol Frederick. A living mine laid under the Russian state.

And the same mine exploded a second time, even stronger and more offensive. Then, in 1758, it was nevertheless possible to at least slightly correct the harm brought to the empire. The new commander-in-chief, Willim Vilimovich Fermor (it's hard to resist the pleasure of showing the reader once again: he fled from the Prussians, vilely betrayed the results of the overall victory of the "purely Russian" S.F. Apraksin, and the son of the "serving foreigner" V.V. Fermor is pulling out the position. Where she, the "German party"?! Aw!), was also accused of indecision, but he occupied all of East Prussia! On January 11, 1758, Russian troops entered Koenigsberg, and the Prussians swore allegiance

Elizabeth. Until the end of the Seven Years' War ... or rather, until the most ridiculous withdrawal of the Russian Empire from it in 1762, East Prussia was part of the Russian Empire for four years, and not as a part of the enemy's territory captured in battle, but as one of its parts. The Prussians paid taxes, behaved completely loyal to the "Kaiserin Elizabeth" and the Russian Empire, and were absolutely not going to leave it after the end of the war.

However, the spring-summer-autumn campaign of 1758 passed without decisive success, and I'm not sure that it was V.V. Fermora disappeared in vain the fuse

of 1757, disappeared! But here another advantage of the allies began to show itself - the superiority of their material and human resources. At the beginning of 1759, the troops of the anti-Prussian coalition were 352 thousand well-fed and fresh people, Prussia and its allies - 222 thousand people in tired and

shabby parts. The new Russian commander-in-chief P.S. Saltykov in the summer of 1759 launched an attack on the Oder, defeated the corps of General K.N. Wedel at Palzig and occupied Frankfurt an der Oder,

threatening Berlin directly. On August 11, Friedrich suffered another, completely shameful, defeat at Kunersdorf: having repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry of General Seydlitz, the Russian army launched a counterattack and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Prussians. Friedrich brought 48 thousand people to the Kunersdorf field; 19 thousand of them remained forever on this field, and many soldiers, as always happened with defeats, fled. The Allies captured 172 of the 248 guns brought by the Prussian army near Kunersdorf. Only 3 thousand soldiers remained in the fleeing Prussian army, and the path to Berlin was open ... This time, the Austrians prevented the end of the war with a decisive blow: Austria was afraid of the excessive strengthening of the Russian Empire, and its army not only did not continue the offensive, but its generals did everything what is in their power to delay

Again Friedrich was saved only by a miracle, although this time it was less vile. Nevertheless, the unfortunate allies of the Austrians are not as exotic as the emperor-saboteur, acting against the interests of his own state.

The year 1759 ended badly - the allies did not trust each other, quarreled, intrigued. France wanted to make peace with England, and the two countries continued the war only because Franco-British negotiations failed. France stubbornly did not recognize the accession of East Prussia to the Russian Empire, not wanting to strengthen it. Austria tried to use the Russian army in its own interests and even asked Elizabeth to subordinate it to the direct Austrian command. Of course, Elizabeth refused, but this story did not add trust between the allies. But even such - quarreled, dissatisfied with each other allies were

incomparably stronger than Prussia. By 1760, the anti-Prussian coalition could put up 220 thousand soldiers against 100-120 thousand Prussians. At the end of September 1761, Russian troops took Berlin. The occupation lasted only two weeks, but it was the occupation of nothing but the capital of an enemy state! There can be only one analogy here: the Prussians captured Moscow, and the inhabitants of the middle zone have already sworn allegiance to Frederick, and now Petersburg has also been taken ... Moreover, the Germans met the Russian army with caution, but not as terrible

enemies. In Prussia, there were many supporters of going under the Russian Empire - Frederick, with his cult of the army and eternal wars, was pretty tired of everyone, but here it was "shone" to enter a large and stable empire, to live calmer and more pleasantly.

Another characteristic circumstance: at the end of 1760, France proposes to convene an international congress and discuss the conditions for the surrender of Prussia ... The Russian Empire is against it! Prussia is not yet drained of blood enough, it makes sense to continue the war ...

By the end of 1761, the protracted war ended as it should have ended: the bloodless Prussia no longer had the strength to continue it. Moreover, Britain refused further subsidies, the flow of English money to Prussia stopped. Russian troops took Kolberg and established themselves in Pomerania. Prussia lost most of Silesia, she was cut off from Poland, where she bought food, and the country began to lack the most necessary. Everything, end. There was only one thing to argue about: what would be the

terms of surrender, and will such a state, Prussia, remain on the map at all? And then the same

mine exploded again ... On December 25, 1761, Elizaveta Petrovna died. Chancellor Bestuzhev and other conspirators of lower rank have long been exiled, nothing and no one prevents Pyotr Fedorovich from taking power. The first thing the new emperor does is to stop hostilities, return all the captured Prussian territories (including East Prussia) and give Frederick's army the corps of General Z.G. Chernyshev. Not only did the victory bought with Russian blood not produce any results, but the general who took Berlin was now helping the Prussians to "cleanse" Silesia and Saxony from yesterday's allies, the Austrians.

On April 24, 1762, Peter III even concluded with Friedrich union treaty, finally saving the already ruined Prussia.

A little more than a month will pass, Catherine II will overthrow Peter III and sit on the throne herself. One of her first acts will be to break the alliance treaty with Friedrich. But the point is not even in this miserable treaty - it was originally destined for a miserable fate. The fact is that Prussia was actually destroyed by none other than Frederick II the Great, its king and creator of its huge and ridiculous army.

Because this army was created specifically to round off the Prussian possessions, and, pretending to be an ally of the Russian Empire, Frederick carefully watched, carefully waited for the moment to chop off the Duchy of Courland from her and at the same time seize another ally of the Russian Empire: Saxony. He destroyed Prussia, brought it to the very edge

of the abyss, and saved Prussia from complete defeat, the Russian Emperor Peter III. A voluntary saboteur, a volunteer spy, he was least of all a bomb planted personally by Friedrich. It was not Friedrich who brought him up in a schizophrenic adoration for his person; it was not Friedrich who made the Holstein second-lieutenant emperor of the Russian Empire. And it was certainly not Frederick who created the dynastic and political situation in which such a thing was possible. Friedrich only seized the opportunity, and nothing more.

If Peter III became a mine under the Russian state, a mine that exploded loudest during the defeat of Prussia, then it became

live on its own, tick on its own only because long before that another mine was laid - by Peter I. In a way, this is a mine within a mine ...

AND IN DOMESTIC POLICY...

Probably, the ultra-short, semi-annual reign of Peter III would have been completely erased from the memory of descendants, except for professional historians, especially since the minions of Catherine who seized power were very happy about this. Forgetfulness was encouraged.

But during the short reign of Peter III, as luck would have it, the most important reforms were carried out! So important that later decades of Catherine's reign will stand on this foundation...

In February 1762, the emperor signed three documents at once: decrees on the liquidation of the Secret Chancellery, on the secularization of church lands, and the Manifesto on the

freedom of the nobility. For example, the decree on the secularization of church lands, that is, on the deprivation of monasteries of their land holdings, was met very calmly. That is, the decree, of course, is very "Petrine" in meaning - to take away the land and serfs from the clergy, to make them state property. Peter had already begun to appropriate the property of the church, but he did it inconsistently, partially, and did not have time to turn around to the fullest. Anna Ivanovna, under the enemy of the Russian people and the autocracy, Biron, did not raise her hand against church property, but under the deeply national Elizabeth Petrovna, the Commission for the drafting of a new Code was also involved in the development of this idea. Theory is theory, and in 1757 it came to the point that the management of church property, without formally transferring it to the treasury, was taken over by guards officers

on behalf of the government. So secularization was expected for a long time, and no matter how the clergy got drunk, this measure was inevitable. If the Decree did not cause much enthusiasm, then, firstly, because they had been waiting for a long time, the event had lost the charm of novelty. Secondly, the nobility was not at all against secularization, but this measure did not directly affect him. And the first two decisions of the government on the abolition of the Secret Chancellery and on the freedom of the no

the nobility managed to rejoice at much more significant for his reasons.

And thirdly, the decree on the secularization of church property was accompanied by very gloomy rumors: that Orthodox priests would be forcibly dressed in German pastoral coats, ordered to shave off their beards, and there was even a rumor that Lutheran liturgical books would be introduced. The nobles were not religious fanatics, but they were not atheists at all, and, of course, they did not at all want the forcible transformation of Russia into a Lutheran country.

Perhaps these rumors were, to put it mildly, exaggerated. It is very possible that their very appearance is a sign of a secret war of conspirators being waged with Peter. But if so, it turns out that the nobility did not believe Peter III and was ready to expect any nasty things from him. Peter had a painfully unenviable reputation! It was Elizabeth who could prepare the secularization of church lands without arousing any suspicion, while Catherine was able to complete the secularization.

But the decree on the abolition of the Secret Chancellery was met by the nobility with delight! And ALL the nobility, without exception.

Regarding the famous Manifesto of February 18, 1762 "On the Granting of Liberty and Freedom to All the Russian Nobility", the opinions of the bulk of the nobility and court circles once again diverged: the courtiers saw no reason to retire, it was much more important for them to receive a guarantee of personal integrity and the safety of their property. Their abolition of the Secret Chancellery pleased more than the Manifesto on the freedom of the nobility. Provincial nobility - on the contrary ...

About the signing of this document, Prince Shcherbatov tells an almost anecdotal story and quite in the spirit of the Russian XVIII century. Allegedly, Peter III, after moving the Court into the new Winter Palace built by Rastrelli, decided to spend the night not with Elizaveta Romanovna Vorontsova, but with some stranger lady. With Elizabeth, he had a stormy long-term romance, and he was even going to marry her, divorcing Catherine. Elizaveta Vorontsova, he tried not to cause inconvenience and trouble.

And in order to divert her attention and the attention of the courtiers, in the presence of Elizabeth and the court, he said: they say, Dmitry Vasilyevich Volkov and I will write the most important

government document. The emperor himself went to his lady, as he had intended, and he locked Volkov in his office with the order: to write the most important state document by morning. In the morning Peter unlocked his office and asked: "Did you write the most

important state document?" "Yes, Your Majesty. Peter, without reading, signed, and he fell

asleep. Half an hour later, the king was awakened by senators, who, pushing, fell on their knees in front of the emperor's bed and begged to be allowed to put up a bust of the emperor of pure gold ...

First, Peter III obscenely scolded the senators who did not let him sleep peacefully. And then he laughed and said that if they had so much gold, it would be better if they gave it to him, Peter, not in the form of a bust, but in pure coin. In any case, the

enthusiasm of the nobility was unusual.

"I can't describe what indescribable pleasure this piece of paper produced in the hearts of all the nobles of our dear Fatherland; everyone almost jumped up for joy, thanks to the sovereign, blessed the minute at which he was pleased to sign this decree, "

- so wrote Andrey Bolotov in his most famous notes [57]. The noble poet Rzhevsky even wrote an ode on this occasion, in which claimed that the emperor:

He gave freedom to
Russia And gave her prosperity.

As for the whole of Russia, Rzhevsky, of course, turned down: in the Manifesto it was about the nobility, and only about the nobility. But the nobility considered themselves "all the people", and the Manifesto reflected the most secret desires of the Russian nobility and completed the process that had been going on literally since the death of Peter.

A. Naryshkin even said, addressing personally to the Lord God:

Keep Peter healthy And
for us, in our eternally blissful lot,
Extend uncountable days,
So that the whole world can be a witness
through it, How much you love virtue in
it, Which it sacredly
honors: He will correct people's
hearts, raise the holy truth,
And establish the truth in the world. .

With these delights (and the delights of “the whole people”), there is a sharp contrast to completely different, very negative and even derogatory assessments constantly given to Peter III and given, by the way, also by “the whole people”.

“To be the chief corporal at the watch parade in the morning,
to have a good dinner, to drink good Burgundy, to spend the
evening with my jesters and several women, to carry out the
orders of the Prussian king - that was the happiness of Peter III.
Such a way of life, of course,
did not inspire respect.”

[58, p. 55].

“He was not evil, but his limitations, lack of education,
interests and natural inclinations indicate that he would have made
a good Prussian corporal, but not the sovereign of a great empire”

[58, p. 72].

The most striking thing is that, perhaps, all assessments are fair!
Because Peter III really signed the most important state documents. He
really banned the famous "word and deed" - the sinister formula, which had
been so much harmed, was forbidden. Even under Elizabeth Petrovna, there
were lovers to shout: “Word and deed!” With her to death no one

they sentenced, but torture was kept as the most common investigative measure, and many of those punished with a whip happened to die.

Under Elizabeth Petrovna, they were not executed, but exiled with might and main, and the general the number of exiles exceeded 80 thousand people.

And now, under Peter III, the one who shouted "Word and deed!" became a criminal! And the very name of the Secret Chancellery, which inspired horror in the townsfolk, was ordered to "consign to oblivion."

The merit of Peter III? Undoubtedly! The same valor as the Manifesto on the freedom of the nobility ... But the fact

is that in February 1762, Peter III only signed the documents prepared under Elizabeth by the Commission for the preparation of a new Code. He was smart enough to succumb to the influence of

those who prepared this Code and remained standing near his throne: R.I. Vorontsova, D.V. Volkova, P.I. Shuvalova, A.I. Glebov and others.

But after all, it was not Russian nobles and not the highest Russian officials who taught him to show his tongue to priests, "train dogs" or curse the first persons in the state with obscenities. And, of course, they were not the ones who suggested to him the idea of returning everything won from Prussia back to the beaten Frederick, making an alliance with him and ordering Chernyshov to fight on the side

of the Prussians. The full impression is that in his actions the emperor simultaneously performs his own actions, then actions prompted by the top of the Russian nobility. His own actions cause, at best, dull bewilderment, and even real heavy anger.

What was suggested to him by the nobles (or rather, their bureaucratic and high-ranking elite) caused complete understanding (like the secularization of church lands), and even complete delight.

If the reign of Peter III was so short and ended so deplorably, then for only one reason - he obeyed his associates too little and too often gave free rein to his far from perfect nature. And sometimes he is sorry.

Part II

THE GOLDEN AGE IN ALL THE BEAUTIFUL

Gilded Age.

Mark Twain

Chapter 1 THE LAST PALACE REVOLUTION

*The beginning always leaves its mark on everything
phenomenon.*

Aristotle

ON WHAT PETER III "PICKED" ON

Peter III could rule happily ever after. He was ready, if not to respect, then to love. But what Peter did not understand was the role played in the life of Russia by the nobility and especially its armed detachment - the guard. He sincerely did not understand that in Russia you can do almost everything ... You can give the most incredible orders. But what is never allowed is to offend the interests of the nobles. Peter, without any problems, could have divorced his wife, and even more so sent her to a monastery. After that, he could marry the "red-faced Lizka." He could completely secularize the monastic property. He could continue to show his tongue to the priests, play the violin, the trumpet, and at least the pipe, or beat the huge African drum in the palace early in the morning. He could even continue to be friends with Frederick and shout that he would give the title of emperor for the happiness of being a corporal in his army.

Of course, in relations with other countries, in violation of the interests of Russia, the emperor was also limited. Russian society met the end of the Seven Years' War sadly: in the end, the emperor robbed Russia of a victory already achieved at a considerable cost, did not allow the expansion of the territory of the Russian Empire in Europe. Thus, not only national interests were violated, but also the corporate interests of the service class. The nobles worked, tried ... but why ?! But even the end of the Seven Years' War and an attempt to fight Denmark for their native Schleswig-Holstein could get away with the emperor.

How Anna Ivanovna got away with her campaigns in the Crimea - senseless, extremely poorly organized, costing incredible losses.

The shameful peace with Frederick and the intention to declare war on Denmark could have been forgiven him ... They would have groaned, but forgiven. Moreover, in the world of high politics, everything is often very, very ambiguous. Peace with Friedrich? And Russia has no better ally in Europe than Prussia. Perhaps it is a hundred times more important to give up East Prussia and make peace than to lose such a glorious ally? In addition, just two years after her accession to the throne, when the propaganda cries subsided a little, Catherine herself signs an alliance agreement with Frederick ... And many points of this agreement turn out to be exactly the same as in the "treacherous" agreement

of Peter III. War with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein? And on the territory of Schleswig is the port city of Kiel ... A very strategically important city. Maybe it is more important to recapture Kiel from Denmark than to defeat Frederick and annex part of

his empire to your own? So the strangeness of international politics could have been forgiven for him ... Especially if the emperor had become at least a little more hypocritical, more cunning. Don't flaunt his admiration

for Prussia, for example. The emperor could not do with impunity only one thing - to encroach on the fantastic privileges of the nobility. At first, he did not encroach, but gave the nobles even more incredible privileges with his Manifesto. And this caused universal delight and a

willingness to adore him. And then Peter nevertheless encroached on the guard when he decided to take it on his campaign against Denmark ... And not just take it, but equalize it with the rest of the armed forces. That is, in fact, to destroy the guard as a special governing body of Russia and as the main party of the nobility. It was impossible to do this until a new guard grew up, personally devoted to the emperor. Only relying on such strength, it was possible

to fight the omnipotence of the guard. Peter III did not understand this. He probably believed that if he was the grandson of Peter I and the rightful emperor on the throne, if he rules according to the laws, then nothing threate

understood by his married wife, who went down in history under the name of Catherine II.

"LITTLE FIKE"

Sophia Augusta Frederick Anhalt-Zerbst ... A girl who was called Fike as a diminutive in her childhood. Another German princess, chosen as the wife of the next emperor, Peter III. Born on April 21, 1729, the daughter of Prince Christian August of Anhalt-Zerbst and his young wife Princess Johanna-Elisabeth of Holstein-Gottorp.

Dad served as a general in the army of Prussia, was dry and distant, never raised a daughter.

Johanna nearly died in childbirth. She did not love her daughter, especially since a son was born a year and a half later. Her daughter irritated her with her independent character and activity. She often hit Fikkhen on the cheeks, but for some reason she rarely used the rod.

Frederica herself remembered little from childhood: mostly her childhood "achievements" and pranks, and how she was punished. Neither the parents, nor the governesses, nor the nurse evoked tender feelings; in her mature years, she did not even remember them very clearly. She believed that she was not loved and unfair to her. And the girl grew up very active! When she first saw the Prussian King

Frederick, the four-year-old girl asked: why does he have such a short suit? After all, the king is rich, why doesn't he make the dress longer? The king laughed, of course she was punished.

The pastor frightened the seven-year-old Fikkhen with stories about the inevitable end of the world and the mass death of people. The girl was crying, empathizing with people. Flogged. The girl asked why

such beautiful people as Marcus Aurelius and Plato are doomed to burn in hell? After all, they lived before Christ and, with all their desire, could not have become Christians? Punished.

At the age of 10, I thought of asking what circumcision is. spanking was guaranteed.

But the child simply physically could not run, not fuss, not be interested in the world around him. When her governess fell asleep, she ran out of the bedroom and ran up and down the stairs until

didn't get out of hand at all. If she was caught doing this, then

again punished.

The girl was afraid to leave the bedroom... But it was necessary to move! And then the princess jumped on the bed to exhaustion. If they didn't get caught...

Sophia Frederica learned two lessons from her bleak childhood: one must be able to be hypocritical! And - you need to be able to rise above others. In the first case, they will not be punished. In the second, you can do whatever you want, they won't dare to interfere.

The life of a poor princess completely changes on January 1, 1744: on this day a letter arrives, by which Johanna and her daughter were invited to Russia. It becomes obvious: she is being prepared as a wife for the heir to the throne. She saw Karl-Ulrich when she was 10 and he was 11 years old. She did not like the boy at all, but what does this have to do with the case?! After all, nothing else shines but the throne!

Parents still doubt: the risk is great, but what will Friedrich say?! What will they say at the courts and in the armies of countless German princelings?! In the end, doubts disappeared: what is a poor, miserable Pomerania and what is a huge rich Russia. We went under an assumed name and did not know what we were more afraid of: robbers or that they would not be accepted? After Riga, it seemed

to both - both mother and daughter - that they were in a fairy tale. Stuffed fool Johanna is characterized by confidence - this is everything for her!

"When I go to dinner,

Johann wrote to her husband in Pomerania,

trumpet sounds; drums, flutes, oboes of the outer guard fill the air with their sounds. It still seems to me that I am in the retinue of her imperial majesty or some great empress; I can't get used to the idea that all this is for me ... "

... And this is all and not for her. All this is for the ugly Fikkhen, her "unsuccessful" daughter.

On June 28, 1744, Sophia Augusta Frederica converted to Orthodoxy and was named Catherine. ... The next

day, the betrothal of Catherine and Peter was scheduled. The princess received the title of Grand Duchess and Imperial Highness. Here for her - and an escort, and pipes with drums.

FIKE OLDER

Elizabeth's courtyard is comfortable and cozy - for lovers of homeless people, booze in the morning and debauchery. When Catherine comes into power and arranges the yard to her liking, she will get up early and go to bed early, there will be many comfortable armchairs and soft sofas in the rooms, and the servants will carefully monitor that it smells good, it is warm and comfortable. Speech was always polite, even lovers Catherine did not forgive rude abuse and drunkenness. From this we have to conclude: in the palace of Elizabeth, Catherine was rather uncomfortable. Another thing is that she adapted. Catherine's ability to be hypocritical is almost innate. Cunning and intelligence. A manic desire to survive at all costs, to scratch out, to rise. To make sure that flogging and whipping in the face never happen again and become impossible in principle. By the way, Catherine never humiliated any of her lovers, friends, colleagues, even people very dependent on her, especially publicly.

It is impossible to say that Catherine lacks convictions and a sense of justice. They are very present. But she knows from early childhood: in order to express yourself as a person, you need to have strength! And if you do not possess, then it is better not to show it.

Under Elizabeth, it was only a matter of surviving. This worked out, and most of the courtiers consider Catherine to be attractive, smart, and pleasant. She almost does not annoy anyone, does not interfere with anyone, she constantly does something pleasant for everyone. If Elizabeth were eternal, this lady, not very happy, but firmly settled in life, would have lived ... A hateful wife, who is openly preferred to Elizabeth Vorontsov, but who will never be driven out of fabulously rich Russia, from the luxurious palaces of emperors.

When Peter III ascended the throne, Catherine became empress. The pinnacle of glory? Maximum possible

elevation? No... After all, now the emperor himself can decide his own fate. Husband

doesn't like it. She was his too, but a wife's dislike would not dethrone an emperor... at least not legally. And the husband's dislike may well reach the point where imprisonment in a monastery, a court case, an "accident" on a hunt will become a reality, and even in palaces, heavy vases happen to fall, and people break their necks on steep stairs. The mother of the

heir to the throne? But Peter III, when he is congratulated on the birth of the baby Paul, speaks of the origin of the "son" in such terms that the courtiers become disgusted. This is at the court of the often drunk, uncontrollably changing lovers of Elizabeth!

If Peter considers the real son of Pavel Saltykov, then his existence would not be a guarantee of Catherine's safety.

Life literally forces Catherine to intrigue against the emperor and her lawful husband. What else can she do? Passivity will inevitably lead her either to the company of murderers, to the casemate of the fortress, or to the cell of a distant monastery. In the

intrigue that Catherine started and carried out, two of her qualities affected: the ability to superbly calculate her political "party", perfectly organize everything that is needed for a coup. And the second quality is good taste. Including taste on people.

GOOD TASTE

I did not find who was the first to speak: they say, one of the privileges of the monarch is not to be the most outstanding person. It is enough for him to be able to bring outstanding

personalities closer to him. Catherine herself was an outstanding person, and besides, she fully possessed this quality necessary for monarchs. Elizabeth's lovers are mostly decorative, and none of them played an important role in the government of the state. Catherine is no more highly moral, but most of her men have either already made a brilliant career, or started it, "having hit the case." Apparently, she chose men based on completely different criteria.

Characteristically, Elizabeth in the memory of her descendants remained frivolous and cheerful, and Catherine - an incredible debauchee. Lyko, which was not written in the line to Elizabeth, was very much written down to Catherine. Apparently, women's "frivolity" was forgiven, but the choice of the really worthy ones was not ... It is typical for a man's attitude to reality, by the way. Frivolous? And let, what to take from the woman? And the choice of the best ... Here a very masculine mechanism of competition is activated.

Razumovsky and Shuvalov Elizabeth is not remembered. Potemkin is remembered by Ekaterina by spreading disgusting jokes about them. But Razumovsky and Shuvalov are zeros without a wand. Potemkin or...

First, well educated. Potemkin spoke French, German, Polish, Greek, knew Latin, Old Church Slavonic and Ancient Greek. In the house of Grigory Matveyevich Kislovsky, he studied

languages, met with De Lin, L. Segur, de Miranda. They testify that he knew modern Western and all ancient literature. Potemkin studied at the boarding school Litke, then at Moscow University. As for the head of the Academy

of Sciences, Razumovsky, he and the university are mutually exclusive concepts.

Secondly, Potemkin was almost as much a foreigner as Catherine. He is from the Smolensk gentry and from the first generation born from mixing with the "Muscovites". Lev Nikolaevich Engelhardt testifies:

“My father from the Smolensk nobles was among the first to marry a Great Russian woman, for since the conquest of Smolensk by Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, they, out of affection for Poland, first married Poles, but as in the reign of Empress Anna Ioannovna, all connections and relations with the Poles were forbidden, even if anyone found Polish books, they were exiled to Siberia: that first out of hatred for the Russians, and then according to custom, all Smolyans married Smolyans. Therefore, we can say that all the Smolensk nobles became related to each other. The first to marry a Russian was Yakov Stepanovich Arshenevsky,

the second - the father of the Most Serene Prince Grigory Alexandrovich Potemkin ... The family of the Most Serene Prince was Polish; with the conquest of Smolensk, his ancestors remained in Russia.

In general, a Polonized Rusyn.

And thirdly, how correctly Catherine singled him out and how much he did! A truly great statesman. Only under Soviet rule was the memorial sign at the place of his death demolished. And it was written there only: "Potyomkin died here." There was no need to write more, every Russian knew who Potemkin was and than famous.

The same inscription was on the grave of A.V. Suvorov: "Here lies Suvorov." The highest level of snobbery: do not name your degrees, ranks and titles. To have a name that is above all marks, awards and orders. Ekaterina did not like Suvorov

and never tried to get close to him ... like Orlov or Potemkin. But she always celebrated, rewarded and promoted him. The good taste of a monarch... The right choice. On the appointment of Alexander Alexandrovich Vyazemsky General

Prosecutor A. Rumyantsev said:

"Your Majesty does wonders, from ordinary the quartermaster came out a statesman.

It was indeed a unique person: a quartermaster general in the army, and not a thief! Suvorov used to say:

"Half a year of quartermastership, and you can be shot without trial."

And Ekaterina managed to single out one that did NOT steal. Again excellent taste, the truest instinct for people.

FAVORITE OF THE GUARD

For the coup, the Guard was absolutely necessary. After Elizabeth, everyone knew how dangerous the rapprochement of the guards and one of

contenders for the throne ... And Catherine did the only thing that she could and that led her to success: Catherine managed to bring the most popular guards closer to her. And again - the most outstanding.

The same Alexei Orlov, notorious for many different crimes, and most importantly, presented to posterity as a stupid warrior, able only to sleep well with the empress ... But he was not like that at all, and by the way, even the origin of the Orlovs is much more respectable than they usually try to imagine.

The classic legend is that Orlov comes from Stepan Orel, an archer who rolled a severed head with a kick. It was supposedly on that terrible day of the "morning of the streltsy execution", when 799 archers were killed in two hours. Tsar Peter liked this head, pumped out by foot, to such an extent that he immediately, on the blood-drenched square, ordered Stepan Orel to appear at the Preobrazhensky order and become one of his guardsmen. According to another legend, Stepan Oryol not only kicked off the head of another archer, but also pushed the king away - "Step back, sir, this is my place!" Or Sagittarius Orel didn't push Peter and said otherwise: "Step back, I'll lie down here!" These are legends... The Orlovs have

been known since the beginning of the 17th century. That is, by the time of Peter the Great, they were already nobles, and the myth of "artistry" was composed about them later. The Streltsy colonel (not at all an ordinary archer!) Was not at all the grandfather of the five Orlov brothers from the times of Elizabeth and Catherine, but their grandfather's brother, Ivan Nikitich Orlov. He, too, was never going to be executed, he was generally not in Moscow on the day of the execution of the archers. Grandfather

was a solicitor, that is, a civil official. The father of five brothers, Grigory, rose to the rank of governor. The

son of the Novgorod governor Grigory was a guards officer. Alexey served in the army, showed himself well during the Seven Years' War and participated in the capture of Friedrich's personal adjutant. For which he was promoted to a new rank, took the captive to St. Petersburg and remained to serve in the guard.) The Saxon envoy Baron Gelbig noted that the Orlovs

"received a good military education and especially learned the main foreign languages: German and French."

It is difficult to say who the legendary Saint Germain, aka Count Cagliostro, was: a secret agent of the French, some kind of incomprehensible creature, or just a traveler who accidentally got into Russian politics. But he was an outstanding and most interesting person, and it is very, very interesting that Saint-Germain singled out the Orlov brothers and talked a lot with them. Alexei Orlov met him in Europe, was a member of Saint-Germain's personal circle, and then called him "father" and "best friend" all his life. For many years he was a follower of the complex mystical teachings of Saint Germain. Saint-Germain helped Orlov even at the time when he was creating the Russian fleet. During the

campaign of the fleet around Europe, Saint-Germain prepared "Russian tea" - a weak narcotic drink that supported the strength of the sailors on the campaign. The mystery of this drink is gone

with him.

Alexei was married and had a daughter, Anna. Bogomolnaya Anna Alekseevna in her old age became the object of Pushkin's ridicule:

A God-loving wife,
With soul devoted to
God, And a sinful
flesh to Archimandrite Photius.

Whether this is true, I don't know. In the last years of his life, not wanting to serve Pavel, Alexei Orlov lived in Moscow. The famous memoirist S.P. Zhikharev wrote about Alexei Orlov in the last years of his life in Moscow:

“There was unlimited respect for him among all the estates of Moscow, and this general respect was a tribute not to the dignity of a rich nobleman, but to his personal qualities.”

He participated in wall-to-wall battles on the ice of the Moskva River, rode alone, drove the sleigh himself, he was loved and respected. In his estates near the Zhiguli, he organized a school of fist fighters - for the children of serfs.

And the personal life of Alexei Orlov in recent years has little resemblance to boring survival. M.S. became his mistress. Bakhmetyeva, nee Princess Lvova. Her husband offended her: humiliated, even beat. She ran away to Orlov. According to legend, she asked: "Alyoshenka, whatever, just take me away from him, I can't take it anymore!"

According to the whole society, the wife should have returned to her husband, no matter how he treated her. Alexei, against the laws and opinions of the world, kept her at home. Bakhmetyeva herself raised cows and made cheese, had an excellent relationship with Anna and raised her well. She made stormy scenes for Orlov more than once: she is not a kept woman! She has her own means, and Orlov should not give her money! Orlov, on the other hand, stubbornly tried to give jewelry to his mistress ...

Once, in the Assembly of Nobility, he presented her with a ring with a diamond: they say that he would not publicly dare to refuse. The lady fell on her back, screaming and screaming. Orlov rolled his mistress into a carpet and took him in his arms to a sleigh, took him away. There was a lot of laughter, but respect for Orlov only became

greater. On December 24, 1807, he died, and hundreds of people saw off the coffin with naked heads.

Such a person was singled out and exalted by Catherine. Statesman, creator of the fleet, clever and active person.

He and his brother Grigory became not just Catherine's lovers ... Moreover, they became the main agitators in the guard. A rumor was circulating

in St. Petersburg: the emperor did not like the guards ... Preparations began for the war with Denmark for Schleswig, and the emperor's dislike was confirmed: they intended to take the guards with them on a campaign and deprive them of all privileges, equalize the guards with the army. And Alexei

and Grigory told: they say, Mother Catherine respects and loves the guards ... She won't allow to offend her at all ... Catherine herself couldn't go to the barracks: she didn't even dare to write a note. But the agitation of Gregory and Alexei turned out to be more effective than even the personal appearance of Catherine in the barracks.

Many dignitaries from the Senate are not opposed to the coup. They believe that the heir to the throne of Paul should be proclaimed emperor

Petrovich ... Let Catherine be regent until he comes of age, and then the rightful emperor, the great-grandson of Peter I the Great, will sit on the throne. The educator of the heir to the throne, Pavel Petrovich, Count Nikita Panin, prepared on behalf of Paul an appeal to the troops and a Manifesto proclaiming him emperor. He also prepared a certain constitution ... About which we will speak below.

Flip MECHANICS

The emperor's court in the summer was in Peterhof and Oranienbaum. It was assumed that in June or early July the guardsmen would march in St. Petersburg and proclaim Catherine. Already in this - the rarest deceit and cunning of Catherine. In case of failure, it will turn out to have nothing to do with it ... Who knows who and what conspiracy is? She herself has nothing to do with the conspiracy. Murder will out. Rumors of a conspiracy

spread with might and main throughout St. Petersburg. Opinions about how and who collected information about the conspirators are different and contradictory. But on June 27, 1762, a certain drunken guardsman began to chat: when they take us to war with Denmark, on a campaign, then we will ask the emperor why he leaves his mother, the empress, whom we are always glad to serve ... Other guardsmen heard the soldier, not in

a conspiracy. Reported. The soldier was immediately arrested. The soldier immediately began to tell everything he knew. According to his testimony, one of Catherine's staunchest supporters, the captain of the Preobrazhensky Regiment, Pyotr Bogdanovich Passek, was arrested. A day or two, and the conspirators could be taken "lukewarm", including the main ones.

I had to act as quickly as possible ... And here almost unprepared action begins.

In the early morning of June 28, Alexei Orlov comes to Catherine. They said in private: "for some reason" all Catherine's servants were ordered not to wake the Empress, not to enter her until she herself called. The order was all the more strange because Catherine usually got up very early. In addition to this oddity, there is no one to confirm the speeches of the participants in the conversation. "It's time

to get up, everything is ready to proclaim you," Orlov said.

Catherine pretends to be surprised. Not for long... A carriage was already waiting at the eastern gate of the Lower Park. A maid and a hairdresser are already waiting in it "out of nowhere".

A odnokolka with Grigory Orlov and Prince Baryatinsky, another conspirator, rushes towards them. Fresh horses rush quickly to the barracks of the Izmailovsky Guards Regiment. Everything plays out like clockwork: Catherine gives the guarantees that the guardsmen and the army regiments that have ended up in the capital expect: there will be no war with Denmark! The Guard will not lose their privileges! Armed men cheer,

the fire of the rebellion grows, and gratuitous drinks and snacks are offered to the gathering crowds of townsfolk. No wonder Catherine recently borrowed 100 thousand rubles from the English merchant Felten! In the Church of the Nativity of the

Virgin, Catherine promises not to take away the estates and serfs from the church. She immediately receives the blessing of the Orthodox Church. The Winter Palace is already crowded with senators and members of the Synod, who have eaten away the dignitaries of the empire. More and more drunken "people" are "rejoicing"

on the square. The guards are also going to the Winter, tightly blocking all approaches and entrances. Those who did not know about the conspiracy yesterday have already joined. For only one second, Major Voeikov tried to stop the guards, on horseback, hacked at their rifles and hats with sabers, yelled that he would not tolerate a riot, and persuaded them to return to the barracks. Fixing their bayonets, the guards drove him up to the horse's chest into the Moik

The people and the guards are shown the heir to the throne: Pavel, terrified to death, not understanding what is happening. Hastily dressed, an eight-year-old child is brought from the old winter palace especially for this demonstration. According to many, this event left an indelible mark on the psyche of Pavel Petrovich: until the last day he was terribly afraid of conspiracies.

Catherine tells the "People" how terribly her husband oppressed her, and vaguely hints at the danger that threatens the child.

She promises the senators to be regent, just as vaguely talks about the "wiles of the villain", alluding to Frederick.

And then a coffin floats through the square! A coffin covered in black velvet! Dressed in mourning clothes, soldiers with torches carry the coffin,

without answering questions - whose? Immediately, a new rumor breaks out: about the death of

Emperor Peter III. Priests swear soldiers to Catherine: right on the square, without delay. In the

evening of the same day, the guard goes on a campaign against Peterhof. From a military point of view, this is rather ridiculous ... From a political point of view, it is absolutely

necessary. Guards and army regiments set out on the most natural campaign. They go in battle order. Among the soldiers, 19-year-old Princess Dashkova prancing on a horse, takes picturesque poses. After midnight we stopped at a bivouac near Strelna, early in the morning we moved on. Around 9 o'clock in the morning, regiments loyal to Catherine began to be drawn into Peterhof. To begin with, they attacked the Holstein recruits, who were engaged in exercises on the parade ground - with wooden muskets. The muskets were broken, the musketeers were locked up in barns and

At about 11 o'clock Ekaterina arrived in Peterhof. She is still cautious: on the morning of June 28, she behaves as if she knows nothing, is not ready for anything. Oh, she, poor thing, was carried away by the flow of events, she had nothing to do with it! So on the morning of the 29th she arrives after everyone else ... And it is not she who is negotiating with Peter III. With the requirement to sign the abdication of the throne, one of the defectors from the camp of Peter III, General Izmailov, and Grigory Orlov go to Peter. Peter III personally rewrites and signs his abdication. At five o'clock in the evening he was taken to

Ropsha, under arrest. Catherine did not meet him. By this time, General Vasily Ivanovich Suvorov, the father of the famous Generalissimo, was disarming the Oranienbaum garrison. The garrison received an order from Peter - not to resist. Soldiers and officers, Russian subjects, are sworn in to Catherine. Many of them then went on to quite decent careers.

Foreign nationals are taken to Kronstadt, and then sent to Holstein. Storm in the Baltic. The ship with "foreigners" got into a storm, crashed. Almost all of them died. Accident? Or organized crime? History is silent on this.

On June 30, the "victorious" army returns to St. Petersburg. There is a big booze going on. The guardsmen feel that they have defeated the adversary and, in general, well done. They even try to break into the palace to

admire Catherine: let her show herself, otherwise there was a rumor that she was kidnapped ... Catherine goes out to them in the middle of the night, but in the morning she announces: we must remember military discipline. Another time, those responsible for spreading rumors and disobedience will be punished. There is nothing to misbehave at night ... and

in general at any time of the day. And in general, Petersburg is under martial law. The Winter Palace is

guarded by reinforced pickets. As a matter of fact, that's all. The coup is over, Catherine is in power. She would remain empress until her death at the end of 1796.

Chapter

2 THE CROWD OF EMPERORS

There cannot be two suns in the sky, there cannot be two emperors on earth.

***Odoacer, leader of the Germanic tribe
skyrs***

However, not everything is so simple and smooth. And under Elizabeth there were, as it were, two emperors at the same time. One, or rather, one empress on the throne, and the second - who knows where, Ivan Antonovich, buried in an unknown distance. Too much...

In July 1762, three emperors crowned to the kingdom were formed at once in the Russian Empire ... Ivan Antonovich - still no one knows where (and we now know - in the Shlisselburg fortress). Peter III in Ropsha, and Catherine on the throne in the Winter Palace. Especially some excess. Elizabeth put up with such an

"excess". Since she made a vow not to execute anyone by death, so do not violate, exterminating competitors, other contenders for the throne. Catherine already showed her

teeth to the guards: she made it clear who was in charge here. That there is no point in imagining that the guards put the empress in power and now they will own her, twist and turn as they please. And then Catherine shows her teeth, consistently "removing" possible contenders for the throne ...

GRANDSON OF PETER I

The very fact of the uprising against him completely demoralized the emperor. He literally didn't know what to do now. On

June 28, Friday, there was the celebration of the Day of the Chief Apostles Peter and Paul. In honor of the supreme apostles, both Peter I, and Peter III, and his son Paul were named. A very loyal holiday. A formal dinner was planned

and dinner, music, dancing, fireworks, Lomonosov's speech "On the improvement of telescopes." In the morning, Peter III Fedorovich

participated in amusing military exercises in Oranienbaum. I returned to Peterhof late in the morning ... and found that the Empress was gone. We know something: she is already in the Izmailovsky barracks, the rebellion begins and spreads. But telephones and the telegraph have not yet been invented, just 27 km from the Winter Palace there is no information. It becomes known that just early in the morning a carriage with Ekaterina drove off from Peterhof ...

By 2 pm everyone began to get nervous: it became obvious that something unusual and incomprehensible was going on. Everyone is perplexed: why did the Empress leave? Or was she taken away by force? Three courtiers go on reconnaissance: to find out where the empress went and what she is doing in St. Petersburg? Field Marshal Trubetskoy, Chancellor Vorontsov and Count Shuvalov left. Almost immediately after their departure, a boat arrives with Lieutenant Bernhorst of the Preobrazhensky Regiment: he brought fireworks. The lieutenant said that when he sailed from St. Petersburg, at 9 o'clock a loud noise was heard from the barracks of the Preobrazhensky regiment, the soldiers ran like mad, and proclaimed toasts in honor of Catherine. The lieutenant did not really understand what was happening: he knew Russian too poorly.

Mounted adjutants, hussars, orderlies were immediately sent along all roads to Petersburg. Order: Find out what's going on and report back. It is not known how a rumor broke out that there was a riot in the capital, and Count Razumovsky was leading it. Send to his brother to find out, so whether it.

Why doesn't the emperor himself go to Petersburg? Why does he not decide or does not want to move the troops loyal to him? After all, the

Courtiers vied with each other to advise him just that. Most the decisive of them is the old, by the age of 80, Burchard Christoph Munnich.

"Take an example from your grandfather, -

he says. —

It is enough for you to appear in person before the people."

And he himself, Munnich, is ready to defeat or give his life for the throne of the grandson of

Peter I. Peter does not dare ... Moreover, other courtiers give him advice of a different nature: not to go alone is dangerous. Let the emperor send proxies... You'd think he didn't send proxies! They don't come back... Then Minich advises to urgently go to Narva or Revel. There are horses,

the garrisons of these fortresses are still loyal. In Northern Germany there is a Russian army under the command of Count Rumyantsev. She is faithful to her oath, does not like the guard at all, and with her help the emperor will triumphantly enter rebellious Petersburg. Peter continues to hesitate. Minich proposes to go by sea to Kronstadt. Here it is, Kronstadt, 8 km of shallow water

from Peterhof, perfectly visible. Reliable sea fortress, the key to St. Petersburg. Peter does not dare to do this either. He declares that he will not move anywhere until he receives information from St. Petersburg. People are sent to Petersburg

with appeals to the rebels. They don't all come back either. In Kronstadt, instead of the emperor, general-in-chief Devier is going.

The crowd of courtiers is thinning ... More and more of them are trying to quietly escape and either go to St. Petersburg or hide.

By that time, the oath to Catherine had already been taken in St. Petersburg, preparing a trip to Peterhof. Time is hopelessly lost.

The emperor does not know this, but is so nervous that the doctor gives him calming powders. He orders the garrison of Peterhof and Oranienbaum to be put on alert. Another two hours pass in senseless bickering: to offer armed resistance or not. Opponents of the resistance assure: if at least one bullet hits a guardsman, it's scary to think what the guards will arrange ... Court dignitaries who are afraid of the guards ... Just like the times have returned when Menshikov brings the guards to the Supreme Council! Then a boat comes: Devier reports that Kronstadt is loyal, ready to receive the emperor. There is a galley, boats and a yacht. A fair wind

is blowing. Forward to Kronstadt! Three hours later they approached the fortress. But the entrance to the harbor is closed, obscene cries and hooting are heard from the walls.

"Open the booms immediately!" Before you is me, your rightful emperor! -

We do not know any emperor, we have a mother - Empress Catherine II!

"Step back, or we'll shoot!" There is still a way to salvation. You can still run overland to Narva and from there under the protection of your army. Leave loyal troops to cover as much as possible, and - forward! But the emperor is completely broken. Alas! He is indecisive and cowardly. He does not dare to demand sacrifices from others, since he does not dare to take risks himself. At about 2 o'clock in the morning the galley entered Oranienbaum. Peter III gives the last order: to issue a monthly salary to the soldiers and officers of the garrison, and in no case to resist.

The last few hours of his reign, Peter III spent in almost complete loneliness. All this time he played the violin.

It is not known exactly where and when, at what hour he wrote his renunciation. It is known that the captured emperor, along with Vorontsova and Gudovich, was brought to Peterhof. Here a disgusting scene played out: the soldiers obscenely scolded Gudovich, tore off all the jewelry of Elizabeth Vorontsova, and Peter III was stripped to his shirt. Then the emperor, guarded by Alexei Orlov and a large convoy, was taken to Ropsha. There

was a rumor that Ekaterina supported in letters to her foreign acquaintances: supposedly Peter was temporarily kept in Ropsha, soon he would be given good rooms in Shlisselburg, and then sent abroad. Allegedly, either they were preparing horses, or a ship to send Peter by sea. But it was all just

camouflage, just a game. All the conspirators, and best of all Catherine herself, understood that letting Peter III go would mean destroying themselves.

Judging by the vague recollections of contemporaries, there was some kind of agreement. But on the part of Peter there was a written renunciation, on the part of Catherine - only verbal promises given through third parties.

On June 29 and 30, he writes letters to Catherine: he asks to let him go to Kiel together with Lizaveta Vorontsova, but for now send him a dog,

Negro Narcissus and violin. Ekaterina sends him "the last three things" while holding Vorontsova.

According to the official version, according to the Manifesto on the death of Peter III, death occurred on July 7, 1762 from natural causes. Allegedly, the emperor "with an ordinary and often frequent hemorrhoid attack fell into a severe colic." This diagnosis, new to science, is frankly intended to humiliate the deceased. The "rude martinet" and the "subverter of the foundations" should have died not from some noble disease, but from hemorrhoids.

According to the Manifesto, Peter III died ... by the grace of God, vacating the throne for Catherine:

"This unintentional decision of God in his death was taken as Divine Providence, which he builds with his inscrutable fates to us, to our throne and to the whole Fatherland, by his only holy will famous."

Allegedly, Catherine learned about the death of her husband from Alexei Orlov. He entered with a confession to the "mother-empress" and said only one thing Word:

Finished! -

He swam away? Catherine asked naively. After all, the official version: they are going to send Peter III by sea to Kiel! - He died ... Catherine faints,

then sobs,

screams, plays with all her might as an inconsolable widow. The courtiers, according to the official legend, even feared for her life. The "touching" scene made the right impression on contemporaries ... But hardly the one that Catherine was counting on. In fact, of course, they were preparing for the assassination of

the emperor, and

Catherine was well aware of this.

There are two known notes by Alexei Orlov to Catherine. The first of them is dated July 2, 1762. In this semi-literate note, it is reported that the emperor fell into colic and, most likely, will not survive the next night.

Another note spoke of the death of the emperor, but no longer from colic, but due to a fight over cards. Of course, different things were said about this story ... The semi-official story does not contradict the notes: they played cards. According to another version, they played dice. During the game, a fight broke out. How it went, who beat whom and with what exactly, we do not know. We also do not know how the legitimate emperor, the grandson of Peter I, Peter III, died. "He was dead," and that's all.

Rumors about who and how killed the emperor circulated around St. Petersburg in huge numbers: gloomy, contradictory. The main character of the rumors was, of course, Alexei Orlov. Initially, Count Panin was the main source of rumors, then this story was told as something completely obvious: who doesn't know such elementary things!

Already after the death of Alexei Orlov, Zagryazhskaya told Pushkin about Alexei Orlov's "bad habit of killing emperors". Someone liked the eerie glory of the killer, someone repelled, but Alexei

Orlov carried her halo until his death at the beginning of the 19th century. But how do we know that it was Alexei Orlov who killed the tsar? And How? Nowhere is it known! "So they said." There is only one

document, a note by Alexei Orlov. A note stating that a fight had taken place and as a result of this fight, the emperor, no one knows how, turned out to be dead.

We also do not have the original text of Alexei Orlov's note on the murder of Pavel in the original. Ekaterina kept these notes all life.

Catherine ordered her memoirs and these notes to be given to Pavel Petrovich after her death. Thus, Orlov was again accused of the death of Peter III. When Paul I sorted out Catherine's papers after her death, he found these papers, read them carefully and threw the original into the fire. The text of the note was copied by F.V. Rostopchin, who helped the emperor sort out papers.

Could Rostopchin reproduce the note inaccurately? Of course he could. Behind In the absence of authentic documents, this whole story is doubtful.

Not all historians recognized the version of the murder of Peter by Alexei Orlov and company. V.A. Plugin thought that by the death of Peter

it was not Aleksey Orlov who was involved, but the most fierce enemy of the Orlovs, AM Shvanvich and a civil official, Panin's right hand, Grigory Nikolaevich Teploe. A.B. Kamensky

even believed that the tsar really could die from natural causes (**A.B. Kamensky**. Under the shadow of Catherine ... The second half of the 18th century. - St. Petersburg: Lenizdat, 1992. - 448 p.). In general, how correctly Orlov killed it is still obviously not 100%. Historians relied on a lot of gossip and rumors, inconsistencies with the official version and eyewitness accounts. But most of all they relied on foreign sources.

In 1762, a 15-page pamphlet entitled "Was the Russian Emperor Peter III legally removed from the throne?" was published in Germany. The author is still unknown, hiding under the pseudonym Justi. In 1764-1765, the treatise "Russian Historical Stories

about the Reign and Death of Peter III" was published, reprinted in German and French. It was written by the German K. Schwan, but the book was published under the pseudonym Marchais and with a false indication that it was published in St. Petersburg. Known is the German manuscript of the Danish diplomat Andreas Schumacher

"The History of the Overthrow and Death of Emperor Peter the Third". The manuscript was published only in 1858 in Hamburg, but even before that no one bothered to read it in the Stockholm Royal Library. Who was interested, read. From many sources we know that they killed the emperor 3 more

July.

Orlov attached to his note a list of those who, together with him, "played cards" with the emperor. This list mysteriously disappeared, although Ekaterina kept Orlov's notes until the end of her days. Probably to serve as a means of blackmail in case Grigory and Alexei Orlov go too far in their claims to power. It is not possible to restore the list completely, many names are only "probably". But for sure, in addition to

Alexei Orlov, Grigory Teplov, Alexei Shvanvich, Prince Baryatinsky were in the emperor's room at the fateful hour. "Probably", there were also guards sergeant Engelhardt, Nikolai Orlov (brother of Alexei and Grigory).

It is known that poison was prepared for the emperor. This is evidenced by Orlov's first note, where it is also about "severe colic." Apparently, the emperor stubbornly did not want to drink what they slipped him. Desperate to kill with poison, they tried to force him, or maybe they immediately tried to strangle him. And it is impossible to imagine that the puny Peter III would attack the strong man, the giant Alexei Orlov.

The mention of the name of Grigory Teplov leads to many thoughts: this botanist and writer, state councilor and member of the Academy of Sciences, really did not like Peter III. A zealous supporter of Catherine even when she was her Grand Duchess, in March 1762 he was even taken into custody for "disrespectful speeches" about Pyotr Fedorovich. This man fully proved to Catherine his "slavish devotion", wrote her manifestos, received a huge amount of 20 thousand rubles for this. And he knew how to be inconspicuous, not to stick out himself, this cunning Grigory Teplov. According to Schumacher, it was Teplov

"I went on July 3 to Ropsha and took measures to kill emperor."

Since Kruse was already the court doctor

"a deadly drink was prepared, which he (the emperor. - **A. B.**) did not want to drink,"

I had to send the most faithful Teplov.

But if the murderer is not Orlov, but Shvanvich and Teplov... Then, it turns out, Catherine herself slandered Orlov?! She didn't punish her, didn't put her on trial ... and it's hard to expect such an act from her. But in front of contemporaries and descendants, she exposed Alexei Orlov as a completely disgusting killer. Why did he accept this role? Why, even after the death of Catherine, did he not try to somehow justify himself? There can only be two explanations:

1) Alexei Grigorievich Orlov had nothing against such a role, he was satisfied with the glory of a terrible and low person. 2) Alexei Grigorievich Orlov assumed this semi-official role as a statesman. To forever

hide in the water the ends of that heinous tragedy that broke out in Ropsha on July 3, 1762. And Teplov?

Teplov sat aside. Narrow was the circle of those who knew about his role, and this "circle" did not open its mouths until his death.

But no matter who and whatever hit the emperor on the head and face, no matter who and whatever strangled him, on July 6, 1762, just a week after the coup, Peter III was dead. There is a coffin in the Alexander Nevsky Lavra. The emperor is dressed in a Holstein uniform (his alienation from Russia is immediately visible), the hat is pulled down over his face ... so that the huge bruise under his eye and on his cheek is not so noticeable. Blackened face; knowledgeable people explain in whispers: they strangled ... They buried the emperor right there, in the

Alexander Nevsky Lavra. All kings, starting with Peter, were buried in the Peter and Paul Fortress. Over time, the Anhalt-Zerbst murderer will also lie there. Peter III is the only exception. The grandson of Peter I did not rest with his family, not in the family tomb. From the point of view of politics - a bad, wrong act of Catherine. One of the rarest cases when personal emotions prevailed in her over considerations of big politics. The act of an embittered wife, not a state lady. After all, everyone saw, at all European courts, where Peter III Fedorovich rests, and drew conclusions. So after his death, Peter was slandered and excommunicated from his family.

III, the grandson of Peter I. If Paul I was born from Saltykov, then the last Romanov is by blood. It's scary to

look into the abyss and think: how Peter hated III his many times unfaithful wife, why did she allow herself such a thing?!

THE FATE OF THE BRUNCHWEIG (Part One)

And there is another emperor in Russia ... Ivan VI, the son of Anna Leopoldovna and Anton Ulrich (Anton Glrich Herzog von Braunschweig-Wolfenbittel), Braunschweig-Bevern-Duke of Lüneburg. He "ruled" for only a year and 16 days ... He did not sit, but lay on the throne in diapers. The nurse carried him to the guardhouse, where, taking him on her knees, Elizabeth was moved.

"Poor little one! —

she said. —

Only your parents are to blame."

She took him in a sleigh and took him away with her. Hearing joyful exclamations in the street, the child cheered up and, smiling at Elizabeth, jumped in her arms (**Ryzhov K.** All monarchs of the world. Russia. 600 short biographies. - M., 1999). After

the coup of Elizabeth on the night of November 30, 1741, the disgraced family with retinue and servants was sent from St. Petersburg "to their own fatherland." So far, Elizabeth's plans are more than gracious - to send away. But the empress herself does not know how best to deal with this family ... On the way to Riga, the convoy carrying

the Braunschweigs was repeatedly caught up with messengers from the empress with new orders. Now she ordered to go immediately to Mitava, then to linger in Narva or

then

"in Riga, stand in the citadel ... and do not leave until the decree."

As a result, they arrived at the place only a month

later. The convoy under the command of general-in-chief Vasily Saltykov consisted of 339 people, carefully selected from four guards regiments. But the preparations for the journey took place in a wild hurry, the exiles traveled literally in what they were captured. The exiles complain about the cold, and Elizaveta Petrovna replies:

"So that the guards do not accept such requirements ... and what is needed for that, it was sent from here directly to Riga."

Curiously, Riga was founded by a distant ancestor of Anton Ulrich. Heinrich Leo Welf competed for power with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. In 1147 he founded the city of Lübeck and initiated trade on the Baltic Sea. Natives of Lübeck, under the leadership of Bishop Adalbert, built in 1203 at the mouth

Daugava's first pier and warehouse. This is where Riga came from... The city founded by the people of the ancient Germanic family of Welfs and which became fatal for

them. In Riga, the prisoners were first "simply" detained, not allowed further. Kept in the Riga castle, but not strictly. Saltykov reported to the empress that on warm days the princess had fun on the swings hung out in the courtyard of the castle, while the prince played skittles with the girls. And further:

"Anton Ulrich now took it into his head to flaunt his hair twist, and dumb pliers bought it on demand.

But every step of any member of the family was vigilantly watched. They even reported what tiny Ivan Antonovich said. For example, about what

"playing with the dog, he hits her on the forehead, but when they ask him: "Who, de, father, will you cut off his head?" - then he answers that Vasily Fedorovich.

The guards were afraid that they would be accused of being too loyal to the arrested, and they denounced each other. Ober-Kriegskommissar Apushkin, passing by Anna Leopoldovna with Ivan in her arms, bowed to them. A! Does he recognize them as a royal family?! Saltykov immediately reported. Apushkin is interrogated, he justified himself by saying

What

"... does not remember anything, as he was very drunk and even fell in front of the porch of his apartment."

The Saxon diplomat Johann Dietrich Petzold reported that

"many, among whom was the Italian doctor Azareti, who accompanied Princess Anna to Riga and was sent here chained, were executed in secret."

In fact, the message does not inspire much confidence: Elizabeth carried out her vow not to execute anyone by death in earnest. But also

she also took the fight against the overthrown dynasty very seriously, trying to erase even the memory of her.

Already three days after the coup, Ivan VI Antonovich was mentioned not as an emperor, but as "Prince Ivan". Supreme the command was:

"The period from October 18, 1740 to November 24, 1741 will henceforth be called the reign of the former Duke of Courland and Princess Anna."

Soon a decree was issued, according to which the subjects were to hand over all the coins with the profile of the infant emperor. From June 17, 1745, the manuscript said, those would be confiscated "without money", and the owners would be punished as criminals "without any mercy."

A letter from a certain German officer in the Russian service, dated 1762, has been preserved. Sailing from St. Petersburg to his homeland, he presented the money to the customs. Among them, one "Ivanovo" ruble was found. This was enough for the German to be immediately taken to the fortress and exiled to Siberia for life. In addition to coins, books with a mention of the disgraced family were also subject to a ban. The seals on the documents of the period of his reign were altered, manifestos and sworn sheets with his name were burned. Many, out of harm's way, burned everything in a row - from prayer books to geographical atlases. So it is impossible to exclude such an option: they secretly killed

people who knew "too much".

What is already known for sure: in the Riga Castle, Anna Leopoldovna gave birth to a dead boy. He was secretly buried somewhere within its walls - even the graves of this family were hidden. In addition, Elizabeth was haunted by

the disappeared treasures of Biron. The Duke of Courland, who actually ruled Russia for ten years, had a fortune of 14 million gold rubles. In terms of modern currency, this is billions. His treasures have disappeared without a trace. Having moved into the palace, Elizabeth did not find many treasures in Anna Leopoldovna's chambers. In addition to the jewelry of Anna

Ioannovna, at the temporary disposal of the Braunschweig family

the countless wealth of the duke turned out to be. The gold embroidery that Biron's uniforms sparkled with was torn and melted down. From the court jeweler Liebman, the empress demanded a list of all the things he had made. It turned out that the lion's share of the jewelry had disappeared. Their search lasted for many years. Anna Leopoldovna and her husband were repeatedly interrogated about the fate of the treasures, their servants and ladies-in-waiting were tortured. The servants

showed the most incredible things, among other things, they reported that Anna Leopoldovna hid the most valuable treasures in Ivan Antonovich's diapers and took them to Riga.

The fate of the lost treasures and the denunciations of the guards made Elizabeth treat the Braunschweigs much more strictly than before. Decisive in their fate was the denunciation that

“as if Princess Anna Leopoldovna had gathered from Riga
run in a peasant dress”

[26]

The message is absolutely fantastic: with Anna Leopoldovna's pathological laziness and inability to live, such a thing would never have occurred to her. But Elizabeth was afraid ... If she runs, then she started something! She will find herself abroad, making Ivan VI the banner of a new coup ... On

December 13, 1742, the Empress signed a decree on the transfer of the Braunschweig family from the Riga castle to the Dunamünde fortress. The bastion of the fortress was located within the boundaries of Riga, at the very mouth of the Daugava - where Ust-Dvinsk is today. The ruins of the fortress have been preserved to this day.

The prisoners were deceived: they were sure that they were being set free. The Empress suggested that servants be sent ahead with luggage. Anton Ulrich paid for the delivery of the cargo to Memel (Klaipeda). The luggage was stuck there for 15 years. During the Seven Years' War, the chests were captured by the Russian army and taken safely to St. Petersburg. Biron's treasures were not found in them. They were not found in Dunamünde either ... There is only one thing left - the Riga Castle. Only there the prisoners enjoyed relative freedom and could hide valuables.

It may very well be that these treasures are to this day in now sovereign Latvia, walled up in the walls of the Riga Castle: literally a few meters from the office of the president of this great power.

Having robbed the Braunschweigs to the bone, they decided never to let them out of Russia. To begin with, they are being taken away from the borders of the Russian Empire: Denmark and Germany are too close to the Baltic states.

A new imperial decree: to transport the disgraced family to Rannenburg, a fortress near Tula, built in 1702 by Menshikov. There was a delay with the departure: Anna Leopoldovna gave birth to a daughter, baptized on December 29, 1743 in the garrison church. The girl was named Elizabeth in honor of the Empress. If this is a petty fawning, then it did not change the fate of the damned competitors. On January 31, the sledge train set off. Anton Ulrich many years later recalled that there were very severe frosts, the newborn almost froze in her wagon. Before leaving, the parents were informed that four-year-old Ivan Antonovich would be taken separately. He was never seen again by his parents or siblings. In

July 1943, the Braunschweigs were again transferred: to the north, to Kholmogory. This distant northern city became the place of their final exile.

The conditions of detention in Kholmogory were extremely harsh: a damp and cold basement, the walls of which froze through in winter. Children were not allowed to be taught to write and read. Anton Ulrich broke the ban, and the children could read and write German. Anton Ulrich used the Bible as a textbook. March 7, 1746 Anna Leopoldovna died from another

childbirth. The father was left alone with the children in this damp, gloomy basement. It is difficult to get rid of the thought that Elizabeth hopes that the cold and dampness will by themselves "finally decide" the question of the members of this family. To her chagrin, the Braunschweigs turned out to be very healthy people. Apart from Anna Leopoldovna, no one died. Emperor Ivan VI Antonovich is kept in

Kholmogory in such

same conditions, but separate from the rest of the family.

In 1756 (a boy of 16) he was secretly transported to the Shlisselburg Fortress. There, his name was kept secret even from the commandant. In official reports, he was called "nameless"

a well." The guards of Ivan VI reported directly to the Office of Secret Investigative Affairs, after its abolition in 1762 - personally to Count N.I. Panin. The guards were forbidden any communication with the outside world. For whole

years after that he did not see a human face. IN his cell was entered, having previously ordered him to hide behind a screen. He never found out where he was imprisoned. Reports from 1759 depict him, however, not quite normal. But his jailers thought he might have been feigning insanity.

And for Elizabeth, and for Peter III and Catherine II who replaced her, Ivan continued to be a constant threat. Although he was now almost a legend, he was not forgotten. Under

Emperor Peter III, who visited Ivan VI in March 1762, his situation worsened even more. A secret instruction dated 01/01/1762 allowed guard officers to use force against him and put him on a chain, and also ordered that in the event of an attempt to release him, not to extradite him alive. Peter III made no definite attempt to change the fate of Ivan and all the Brunswicks. Maybe just didn't make it?

IVAN VI AND EKATERINA II

In August 1762 Catherine visited Ivan Antonovich. What they were talking about, we do not know. If you believe the reports of the officers guarding Ivan VI in Shlisselburg, then he knew the secret of his origin (after all, he was isolated from his family at the age of 4 ... at least something, but he probably remembered). The officers reported that the "nameless convict" was literate, read church books, had an exceptional memory, and at the same time was mentally

unbalanced, sometimes behaved aggressively (**Librovich S.F.** The Emperor is banned. - M., 2001 (reprint reproduction: SPb., 1912). Some historians suggest that the prisoner

feigned some mental imbalance. Considering that he spoke quite reasonably with Peter III, this assumption seems very realistic. If he tried to look like a psycho in society

Catherine, one should assume simply the exceptional mind of this person and an excellent understanding of who is who in this world.

Perhaps, if Catherine considered Ivan VI a harmless madman, he would have had a chance to survive. Maybe one day he would be free. But SUCH an emperor, remembering himself and at the same time aggressive ... He really can become the banner of a coup.

Count Panin's instruction to the guards of Ivan VI dated 08/03/1762 directly requires that he be shot while trying to free him. What were the attempts? No, there weren't any... So, the instruction was given "just in case"? Perhaps ... But

in 1764 officer V.Ya. Mirovich, who was on guard duty in the Shlisselburg fortress, won over part of the garrison to his side in order to free "Tsar Ivan". There is reason to believe that Mirovich's actions are not entirely independent: he received assurances from Count Panin that "very significant persons" are on the side of Ivan VI. Mirovich considered it quite realistic to elevate Ivan VI to the throne and become a noble nobleman under him. Why not? The Orlovs advanced just like that!

If Panin organized this provocation, then, of course, not without the participation, or even not without the direct leadership of Catherine. As always, this terrible woman was, as it were, "nothing to do with it." Even with "her own" she was always hypocritical, depicting what she needed. How I was "surprised" by the appearance of Alexei Orlov in the early morning of June 28, 1762. And Panin also did not leave a single document. As in most cases, one has to talk about Catherine's secret deeds and crimes, relying only on conversations and rumors. Unreliable source!

Mirovich turned out to be "extreme" in this story and was executed quite naturally. After all, Catherine did not make a vow not to execute anyone by death. But he failed to free the emperor: under Ivan Antonovich there were two watchmen who were always severely punished: rather kill the captive, but not release him into the wild.

On July 5, 1764, an alarm was raised in Shlisselburg. Captain Y. Vlasyev and Lieutenant L. Chekin, who guarded Ivan VI, were true to their oath and, in the wake of the alarm, killed their prisoner.

Catherine received news of the coup attempt while in Riga. She expressed neither surprise nor fear. Apparently she already knew. She ordered Count N. Panin, the commandant of the fortress:

"The nameless convict is to be buried in a Christian position in Shlisselburg, without publicity."

Emperor Ivan VI is secretly buried in the Shlisselburg Fortress. His grave is unknown (**Sukhareva O.V.** Who was who in Russia from Peter I to Paul I. - M., 2005).

THE FATE OF THE BRUNCHWEIG (Part Two)

After the death of Ivan VI, Catherine offers freedom to his father, Anton Ulrich. The condition is simple - to leave Russia without children. Anton Ulrich flatly refuses. What can I say? In the face of this unfortunate man, the lesbian Anna lost a wonderful husband, replaced him with the beauty Mengden. Russia has lost a wonderful emperor with very high human qualities.

Anton Ulrich of Brunswick, a prince from the Welf family, lived for another 10 years in a damp, cold basement in Kholmogory. He fulfilled his father's duty to the end and died in the place of his imprisonment on May 4, 1774. His body was buried at the Kholmogory Church of the Assumption; no monument was erected on the grave, and now several probable places of the grave are being named. Calling a spade a spade, the grave disappeared from the face of the earth. Peace be upon you, worthy and strong man. May the descendants forever remember you and the intergirls on the throne, Katya and Lizka - the killers of yours and your children. Everlasting memory. Let each one have his own.

Even during the life of Anton Ulrich, his sister, Queen Juliana Maria of Denmark, asked to release her relatives from Russia. She assured that these people would not be dangerous, would not claim the throne, would behave quietly ... In 1780, Catherine agreed to send the children of Anna Leopoldovna and Anton Ulrich to Denmark: Peter, Alexei, Catherine and Elizabeth. The youngest, Elizabeth, by that time was 34 years old. These people were forbidden to live and even appear in

Copenhagen, travel abroad and receive visitors. Yes, they did not rush to it. Almost uneducated, ignorant of life and afraid of people, these representatives of the highest nobility of Germany and Russia were completely unadapted to life. And they say something

almost didn't know how. Their German speech still somehow turned out, even though they pronounced the words of the German language in the most bizarre way. With Russian speech,

it turned out even more "fun". The imprisoned communicated with soldiers, natives of the Arkhangelsk land. They spoke a local dialect that differed more from Russian than modern Russian from Serbian or Ukrainian. When the children of Anton Ulrich spoke "Russian", the Russians did not understand them.

The Braunschweigs lived very secluded, in the Danish province. They played no role in history. None of them had children. The last of these unfortunates, Ekaterina Antonovna, died in 1807, and this branch of the Brunswick dynasty was cut short (**Korf M.A.** The Brunswick family. - M., 1993).

Sophia Augusta Frederick, aka Catherine II, could rejoice - no one encroached on the throne she seized. The most consistent of the usurpers of power in Russia in the 18th century, she exterminated all pretenders to the throne. Under the root. It was as if

everything had been taken into account... But Russia snarled at imposture for a long time. Back in 1764, there was a rumor that it was not "Tsar Ivan" who was killed, but "the son of a Swedish soldier." They even told in detail: they say that the Riga governor-general Lassi had long ago, back in the months of the Braunschweigs' stay in Riga, "replaced" Ivan Antonovich, and now the "real tsar" is wandering among the people no one knows where. Too

bad it's just a legend. In 1774, in Mitava, a certain ragamuffin appeared to the Duke of Courland, Peter Biron. He beat his chest and shouted in Russian and German that he was Ivan Ulrich, Emperor of All Russia. There were several other impostors, as a rule, very naive and completely different from Ivan VI. The last of them appeared in the last years of the reign of Catherine II, in 1788. It's a funny story, but these impostors incredibly frightened those in power, literally caused panic. This fear of the

authorities served as a hint for the population: is there really some kind of secret dangerous for the authorities here? Why else would she be so

nervous? Moreover, there was no real information about Ivan VI and the entire Brunswick dynasty either under Catherine, or much later.

Access to documents about Ivan VI was opened only in the 1860s. There is no information - there are assumptions, but simply - gossip and rumors.

There were an incredible number of them during the reign of Sophia Augusta Frederica Catherine.

Chapter

3 NO RETURN

*Law? What is a law? Why do I need a law?
Don't I have power?*

American nouveau riche Vanderbilt

The coup of 1762 Catherine II preferred to call "revolution". So it sounds more harmonious, and the name is different than that of the events that brought Elizaveta Petrovna to power. Difference, no matter what.

Only now the coup-revolution was being prepared, something not for Catherine, if you look. Catherine was to rule as a regent, and Pavel I Petrovich was to sit on the throne. Until adulthood - under the control of the mother regent, and then

on one's own.

It is no coincidence that during the days of the coup and immediately after it, Catherine spoke very carefully about in whose favor the coup was being carried out. From June 28, the guards ran around screaming about the "mother empress", but the highest dignitaries, the Senate and the Synod stood for the reigning Paul and the regent, Catherine. But why should she be regent? Catherine was married to the kingdom as an empress and never gave up her power to anyone.

Moreover, both Paul and Catherine were to rule as constitutional monarchs. The draft Constitution was prepared by Nikita Ivanovich Panin, one of the most influential people in the Russian Empire, the educator of the heir to the throne, Paul I. To prepare the coup, Catherine really needs the most influential Panin ... It is so necessary that the future man-killer goes out of his way to attract him to her side ... And Nikita Panin, to all appearances, makes the same mistake that the leaders did a generation earlier: he decides to participate in lawlessness for a good cause: to limit the monarchy, introduce constitutional law, and so on. According to the project of Nikita Ivanovich, the coup itself should take place not in favor of Catherine, but in favor of Pavel, the legitimate heir

throne. Catherine is regent until the age of Paul. And when Paul I ascends the throne, his power is already initially limited by the Ruling Senate. The name is "copied" from Peter I, but the content is completely different. The suit of the members of the Senate is appointed for life by the monarch, but most of them are elected by the nobility and also for life. Catherine pretended to agree, but did not sign any papers. Naive Panin and his no less naive friends, the highest dignitaries of the Russian Empire, do not require any signed documents. During and after the coup, the guards shouted

"Hurrah for the Empress!" and "Vivat Empress!". After the coup, Catherine did everything possible to establish herself on the throne herself, and not at all near the throne, as a regent.

This story is widely known both from the notes of Countess Dashkova and from the memoirs of S. Vorontsov, this is not a new thing. It is also widely known that N.I. Panin actively inspired his pupil, the future Emperor Paul I, that he was the rightful heir to the throne, that his mother was a usurper, and that it was he, Paul, who was destined by Providence to introduce in Russia "the power of laws, not persons." It is also widely known that Catherine did not dare to cut off Paul's connection with his tutor and only surrounded them on all sides with her "confidants". When Paul reached the age of 16, she married him and removed Nikita Panin from his duties - they say, the heir to the throne is already an adult. Did the drafts of the Constitution end with that? .. And the speeches that Nikita Panin and Pavel made, apparently, were empty ravings of a loner? So to speak, clinical Westernism in a lonely, elderly person who is not able to captivate anyone behind him? Hm...

But the Decembrist M. Fonvizin, already in exile, describes the other side of this story from the words of his father, the brother of the author of The Undergrowth, that

"In 1773 or in 1774, when Tsarevich Pavel came of age and married... Count N.I. Panin, his brother Field Marshal P.I. Panin, Princess E.R. Dashkova, Prince V.N. Repnin, one of the bishops, almost Metropolitan Gabriel, many of the then nobles entered into a conspiracy to overthrow the reigning without right

Catherine II and instead of her to build an adult son. Pavel Petrovich knew about this, agreed to accept the constitution proposed by Panin, approved it with his signature and took an oath that, having reigned, he would not violate this fundamental state law that limits autocracy ”

Fonvizin M. Political life in Russia. M.A. Fonvizin // Library of the Decembrists. Issue. IV. 1907, pp. 32-33.

Moreover, the constitutional draft itself was already well developed (incomparably more complete than the Conditions). According to Mikhail Fonvizin,

“under it (the Senate. - **A. B.**) *in* hierarchical gradualness there would be noble assemblies: whether provincial, regional and district ... The Senate would be vested with full legislative power, and the emperors would have the executive with the right to approve the laws discussed and adopted by the Senate and promulgate their. The constitution also mentioned the need for the gradual emancipation of peasants and householders ... the introduction or preface to this act, as far as I remember, began like this: “The sovereign power is entrusted to the sovereign for the common good of his subjects. Tyrants know this truth, but good sovereigns feel it.

There. S. 31

Catherine II found out about the constitutional project and the idea of a new coup d'etat - one of Panin's secretaries betrayed her. Young Pavel became timid, brought a confession, and the tsarina did not begin to carry out reprisals, but only “quietly” removed the conspirators from Paul. She surrounded Paul herself with even more careful supervision. At this moment, by the way, I really believe it - after all, the noise, the show trial of "traitors" and "oath breakers" was very inopportune for Catherine II, she really ruled illegally. Any

a lawsuit or a series of massacres would show this to all of Russia ... and all of Europe.

THE CONSTITUTION AS A REGULARITY

Indeed, Peter I enserfed all estates so that they served the state. And now the grandson of Peter I, Peter III, freed the nobles from the tax. Thus, he broke the statist idyll, made one of the estates not taxable ...

Yes! The manifesto on the freedom of the nobility immediately turned the nobility from a service, taxable estate into an estate that was little dependent on service and, moreover, privileged. And what is more, a privileged estate is extremely, unbelievably; an estate extremely exalted above all the rest and placed in

exceptional position.

The peasantry and, in general, all other classes continued to bear the tax. The nobility did not bear the tax, and in this the mutual understanding of the "noble class" and the rest of the nation was most severely violated. While the nobles were serving the state, the peasant and the Cossack could put up with a lot. Now the basis for mutual understanding and common service has disappeared. It is no coincidence that in

Rus' instantly, literally a few weeks after the Decree, the peasantry began to wait ... wait almost from minute to minute, when will the second Manifesto finally come out ... Manifesto on peasant liberty ?! And without waiting for their Manifesto, the peasants with extraordinary

ease believed anyone who was called the "real", miraculously saved Peter III, and there were about forty such Peters. Peter III, in general, turns out to be the most beloved, most adored by the Russian people of all the tsars. His glory is shared by Paul I, who was officially considered the son of Peter III. But Catherine II in the minds of the people is not only a man-killer, but also the first "enemy of the working people": it was she, Catherine, who exhausted her lawful husband in order to prevent him from freeing the people. Peter, of course, wanted this, and for this he issued the Manifesto on the Liberty of the Nobility. And the nobles with the hands of the "unfit Katya" exhausted the legitimate tsar, did not allow him to free the people ...

Naive? How to say... The fact is that in St. Petersburg and throughout the 18th century, and in the first half of the 19th century, there was such a legend... As if Chancellor Mikhail Vorontsov, the author of the text of the famous Manifesto, advised the emperor to publish the Manifesto on Peasant Liberty... And as if the emperor showed interest and even, as it were, asked to prepare the text of the Manifesto ... Others even agreed that it was not by chance that the guards of Peter III, who had become dangerous for the nobility, "removed". That supposedly the text of the Manifesto had

already been prepared and were ready to be announced when ... No, the text of the Manifesto on the freedom of the peasants was kept behind the cuffs of the emperor's hat, for fidelity. And when Aleksey Orlov... In general, a hat fell from the head of the emperor, and a corner of paper sticks out from behind the cuff! Pulled, and this ... Manifesto! Who burned it, the text of the Manifesto, Mother Queen, Orlov himself, are they together? .. Probably Catherine was the first to rush to the nearest candle, barely realizing what kind of paper Alexei Orlov brought! Having changed in her face, shaking with

fear, she burned, unable to wait for such a terrible, such a formidable document to disintegrate into gray ashes! By the way, these exciting details are not told by semi-literate men at all, and in the 18th century they lived, as it were, at the time of the conquest of Kazan by Ivan the Terrible ... This tale

was composed (or not composed? Or not a tale?) Petersburg nobles, including the titled nobility. Was? Did not have? Now it is very difficult to say, but that's the point - Peter III could well prepare such a Manifesto. Most likely, it is full of distortions, exaggerations, far-fetched details. The same corner of paper from the hat of the strangled emperor... On the one hand, what is it: the emperor did not take off his hat for several days? If he already had a draft Manifesto at least drafted? On the other hand, such a "corner of

paper" is not immediately imaginable ... In general, an obscure story. The main thing is that it cannot be ruled out that the legend had its own basis. I note - to what extent the versions of the noble and peasant converge! Both of these estates, after Peter's inventions, and especially after the Manifesto on the Liberty of the Nobility, do not like each other, to put it mildly, and consider each other ... again, let's put it mildly - narrow-minded. But w

flight of fancy! How the two main estates of Rus' are waiting for the Manifesto on peasant liberty!

AND AGAIN THE GHOST OF THE CONSTITUTION...

So the idea of the Constitution is not accidental and does not just disappear. After the "repentance" of Paul, the text of the constitution was either destroyed, or they hid it so that no one can still find it. But the introduction to the Constitution called "Panin's testament" was preserved and published by Denis Fonvizin (**D.A. Fonvizin** . Collected works. Vols. I - II. - M. - L., 1974. S. 254-267).

And even that didn't end there ... There is evidence that two days before his death, on March 28, 1783, Nikita Ivanovich Panin again urged Paul to transform the political system of Russia

"on the basis of constitutional"

Safonov M.M. The constitutional draft of N.I. Panina - D.I. Fonvizina // Auxiliary historical disciplines. T. VI. - L., 1974. S. 280

As if there was another constitutional project of Platon Zubov and Gavril Derzhavin, successive from Paninsky (**Safonov M.M.** Constitutional project of P.A. Zubov - G.R. Derzhavin // Auxiliary historical disciplines. T. X. - L. , 1978). Both Peter III and Paul I already in tsarist times were

presented as some kind of moral monsters, incredibly aggressive psychos or, at best, as crazy. This opinion about them was fully shared by Soviet historiography. But the first of them for a long time became a national idol, which she really wanted, but her "wife" - the killer - did not become. And the accession to the throne of the second aroused the delight of those who were waiting: now Emperor Paul I will give the Russian Empire a constitution, and the peasantry - personal freedom! In general, a ghost roams Russia ... The ghost of the restriction of the

power of the monarch and the Constitution. Against - perhaps Baba Yaga, Catherine. For her, death is like giving power and sharing

power and limit their own power. It can survive only by retaining the fullness of its autocratic power.

But "for Baba Yaga" - the thickness of the nobility. A huge number of powerful, organized people who are aware of their rights and are not going to part with them. Catherine takes autocratic power and immediately gives colossal privileges. No other power will give so much.

Frightened Underemperor

And another one lives in Gatchina ... no, not yet an emperor. Paul is not crowned, not chrismated, not crowned king. This is some kind of under-emperor ... Someone who has a legal right to the throne, but who is not allowed to the throne.

Pavel I was born on September 20, 1754. From Sergei Saltykov or from Pyotr Romanov-Golshtinsky? Is he Sergeevich or Petrovich? This secret haunted Paul I all his life and survived to our time. No one knows for sure whose son he is. What is known for sure is that he did

not love his mother and was afraid. And that the mother did not love in the same way and was afraid of her son.

The "half-emperor of Gatchina" in official history is denounced almost like his official father - a hysterical half-wit, a cruel despot, a martinet .. Like his official father, he was an educated, intelligent and humane person. The highest percentage of commoners who have served as officers is just in the Gatchina garrison. The lowest number of corporal punishment of soldiers is in the same place. Pavel was popular and loved by his army no less than his mother was by the guards. Even more, because he was more trusted. And because the garrison of Gatchina and Pavel were united by a common destiny. If Ekaterina wants and manages to kill Pavel, then what? And the end of his army, they will send him to distant

garrisons, and there is no hope for a career there. And Pavel was really afraid of his mother. Gatchina lived behind a palisade of slingshots, and the guards did their duty

not out of fear, but out of conscience. It was the garrison of almost a separate state, where their charters and orders were in force.

Several times in Gatchina, in the middle of the night, soldiers were raised on alarm - supposedly government troops were marching towards Gatchina. Whether Catherine sent murderers to her son, whether the alarms were false, is unknown. That the soldiers were alerted, people were standing with loaded guns and cannons, ready to repel the enemy - this is a fact. What is behind these incidents? What other dark secrets? God news...

Surrounded by Pavel, they did not ring all the bells, they tried to hush up such incidents. And in the official annals of the Russian Empire, such episodes, of course, could not exist in principle. But they were. There is also evidence that Pavel Petrovich, not without reason

fearing for his life, during the Pugachev uprising was quite seriously going to move towards him with all his Gatchina army. In 1773, he was already 19 years old, he has the right to the throne.

One can only guess what kind of meeting "miraculously saved Peter III", "daddy" - Pugachev and the respectful "son" who came to him - Pavel, could take.

But at some point, the connection between Prince Paul, the legitimate heir to the throne, and the impostor Pugachev, who called himself Peter III, became quite real. The combination of peasant resistance and noble, moreover, court opposition has become real ... To what extent it changes the accepted, it would seem, the only possible assessments of events! It is unlikely that the victory of "Pugach" could carry something more than

plunge Russia into bloody chaos. But what is the prospect itself?

However, this meeting did not take place ... most likely for the good of all. Paul

lived as a non-reigning prince until 1796, until the age of 42. Most of this time he was in constant expectation and in constant tension. Of course, this affected his character and behavior.

Chapter

4 EMPIRE OF LIE

Tartuffe in skirt and crown

A.S. Pushkin about Catherine

THE WAY TO THE EMPIRE OF LIE

Catherine's reign began with hypocrisy and lies. False and duplicitous is her Manifesto of accession. Even more two-faced, hypocritical and meaner than her is the Manifesto on the death of Peter III. From beginning to end, deceitful, duplicitous and vile is her behavior before the coup, during and after.

Trying first to survive and rise under Elizabeth, then trying to seize power, she constantly lied, in fact, to everyone. Lies have been her salvation since adolescence. She lied to her mother to get rid of physical

punishment, and to her father to get rid of his moralizing. Sending his daughter to Russia, dad wrote a lengthy instruction to little Fika, in which he advised her to avoid any intrigue, gambling, and most of all, love affairs on the side. Fikkhen thanked her father for science and kissed her parent's hand. In Russia, she intrigued right and left, the number of her lovers exceeds at least 50 people. As for gambling... From her time as Grand Duchess until her death, Ekaterina Romanova-Anhalt-Zerbstskaya-Holstein-Gottorpskaya loved playing cards most of all. Losing to her at cards was the surest way to make a court career.

As Grand Duchess, she lied to Elizabeth about her devotion. She lied to Friedrich, promising to thank him for choosing Grand Duke Peter Fedorovich as a bride. She lied to Bestuzhev and other courtiers. She lied to her husband, cheating on him right and left. She lied to her lovers, afraid of their long tongues and claims of excessive intimacy. She betrayed all these people invariably.

Walking to the throne, she lied to the guards, trying to present herself as "the second Elizabeth" and removing the guard from himself immediately after the coup.

She lied to the dignitaries of the empire, pretending to be a future regent. She lied to church hierarchs, pretending to be a faithful daughter of the Orthodox Church, which would not allow the stateization of church property. She even lied to Grigory and Alexei Orlov, deftly playing with their

feelings and hopes. Even with them, she behaved in such a way that in the event of a failed coup, she could shift all the blame on them, and herself remain on the sidelines.

When she killed her husband, she left documents that denounced Alexei Orlov as a murderer, and forced almost the entire educated society in Russia to consider him the main villain. She lied, talking about the monstrous

qualities of her lawful husband, Peter III Fedorovich, and spreading disgusting things about him.

gossip.

She lied to foreign diplomats and to her own court, pretending to be a murder she had planned as an accident. She lied with every line of her manifesto,

telling tales

that she was "forced" to take power by the will of "the whole people".

Already becoming the empress, she not only continued to lie about the events of her accession. She tied everyone who knew at least a piece of the truth with mutual responsibility, and forced them either to be silent, or to lie themselves too. Orlov was silent for state reasons, Teplov - afraid of being caught as a traitor and murderer, Zagryazhskaya told disgusting gossip about Emperor Peter III and Alexei Orlov until the end of her days. The participants in the coup lied to whitewash themselves and justify their

participation in betrayal of the oath and violation of one's duty.

Throughout the reign of Catherine, it was highly discouraged to be interested in the circumstances of the death of Peter III or the reasons why Pavel I Petrovich (Sergeevich?) Was removed from actual power. In the same way, it was not recommended to be interested in the extent to which the words of her manifestos correspond to reality. That is, everyone knew perfectly well that Paul should have ruled for a long time and that Emperor Peter III died from anything, but

not from

"Hemorrhoidal colic". They knew and were silent. The nobility was the only layer on which Catherine relied. The only class of society for which the reign of Catherine was at least somewhat useful and beneficial. But the nobility was also doomed to almost incessant lies. Everyone knew that official

information about almost everything was false and unreliable. Rumors swarmed like flies in a butcher's row, but almost all rumors were, of necessity, false. How badly they

imagined the life of the empire ... in essence, absolutely everything, says such an almost unbelievable case: after the death of Catherine, one of the first questions posed to the courtiers by Paul I Petrovich (Sergeevich?) Was: "Is my father alive?" The prince did not rule out the possibility that his official father was not killed, this is all gossip, idle fables ... But in fact, Peter III was imprisoned in a distant monastery, in a fortress, in a stone bag, in a basement.

LIE AS A POLICY WAY

Empress Catherine II lied literally at any turn of her policy. It seems that there was not even a special need, but ... Let's say, what was the need to pretend to be a supporter of the Enlightenment, to try to pass for a "philosopher on the throne"? And she corresponded with Voltaire and Diderot, sent them money, invited them to Petersburg. The French encyclopedists did not go to Petersburg, although Voltaire lived for some time at the court of another "philosopher on the throne", Frederick of Prussia. But the popularity of the ideas of the Enlightenment and the enlighteners themselves Catherine used to popularize her own name. In the same way as she used the popularity of the Orlov brothers in the guard. Lying in Europe as a whole was

not difficult: the Europeans knew Russia too little. The years of Catherine's reign are a time of gradual study of the boundless spaces of the Russian Empire. But stories about polar bears lying in wait for passers-by in St. Petersburg, about snowstorms sweeping churches up to the crosses on domes, about the inhabitants of Siberia falling into hibernation, and so on and in the same spirit, went around Europe much later. By the way, there are such stories in the writings.

Baron Munchausen. The historical Baron Munchausen did indeed tell this kind of story. When they believed them, when they didn't ... But he was not the only one who spread the most fantastic rumors about Russia.

The tusks of walruses were brought from Siberia, and Commodore J. Perry slightly confused these tusks with the teeth of hippos ... And without hesitation he described the waters of the Lena River and other Siberian watercourses teeming

with hippos. In this field, where reality mixed with fantasy, it was not particularly difficult to lie. But Catherine - and concern for the education of the people ... This bike is worth the hippos from the Lena or the sounds of regimental music freezing in the Russian winter, which Baron Munchausen spoke about.

According to Catherine, she retreated from high and beautiful ideas solely because in Russia they were not ready to understand her. In her letter to Denis Diderot, Catherine wrote:

“Paper endures everything - it is white, smooth and presents no obstacles either to your sublime mind or imagination. I, the poor empress, work for people, and they are extremely sensitive and scrupulous.

Dmitry Volodikhin against Anatoly Fomenko //
Volodikhin D., Eliseeva O., Oleinik D. History of Russia
in small polka dots. - M., 1998

But correspondence with Voltaire and tireless concerns about the education of the whole people did not in the least prevent Catherine from issuing a Decree of 1765 on the right of landowners to exile their peasants to hard labor. How? And like this - to take and exile with your will, without resorting to court or other nonsense.

There was another Decree, 1767, punishing the peasants who complained about the landowners with hard labor. It does not matter why and for what reason the living talking property complained. The very fact of a complaint against the landowner was regarded as a crime. In 1783 serfdom was extended to Ukraine. Before that, in Ukraine, there was no power over people as talking tools.

The scale of the distribution of land and serfs under Catherine is simply amazing. In total, she "granted" more than 800 thousand serf souls - about **5%** of the total population of Russia. Apparently, this is also a fact of her work for scrupulous and sensitive people.

In the last years of her life, Catherine imprisoned F.V. Krechetova and N.N. Novikov - just for the printing of books and the cause of education. She silenced D.I. Fonvizin, and A.N. Radishchev was sentenced to death, which was replaced by exile in Siberia. Historians have different opinions about Radishchev's book (***Radischev A.N.*** Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow. - M., 1982) [34]. Many of them consider the facts given by him to be exaggerations, and the spirit of the book to be excessively critical. Perhaps the way it is, but it is still strange to be guided by humane ideas and the spirit of the Enlightenment in words and execute by death for a written and published book. Whatever is written in it.

"GREAT LEGISLATOR"

Catherine II understood that Russia needed new laws: both the Code of 1649 and the Decrees of Peter I were incredibly outdated. The queen sincerely wanted to rule, relying on the largest possible strata of the population. On December 14, 1766, she issued a Manifesto on the convocation of deputies to the "Commission for drafting a new code."

The commission was composed of representatives of government institutions and of deputies from various categories or classes of the population. The Senate, the Synod, all the collegiums and the main offices of the central government sent one representative each. Then the empire was still divided into 20 provinces, which were subdivided into provinces, and the provinces into

counties. One deputy was chosen by each city from homeowners, each county from noble landowners, and each province by deputy from one palace, from arable soldiers, from state black-haired peasants and from settled foreigners from each people, baptized or unbaptized. The number of deputies from the

Cossacks was left to determine their top commanders. Elections were direct for districts and cities, and three-stage for provinces. Nobles - landowners of the county under

the chairmanship of the leader of the nobility elected for two years, and the townspeople-households, also chaired by the elected mayor for two years, directly elected a deputy to the Commission. Only the largest cities could elect electors by city division at first. Odnodvortsy and other free rural inhabitants of the mentioned categories, "having a

house and land in a churchyard (rural parish)," elected churchyard attorneys, who elected county attorneys, and a provincial deputy was chosen from among them. Thus, the Commission was represented by central government agencies, some classes, foreign

tribes and places of residence.

In the cities, all householders, persons of all ranks, participated in the elections. That is, city elections were all-class. All deputies were elected 564. Most of the deputies went to the cities,

because every city, large and small, and the capital Moscow, and the county town of Bui, in which there were only a few hundred inhabitants, sent one deputy each. Urban residents did not even make up 5% of the total population of the empire, and the Commission of City Deputies accounted for 39%.

But the serfs were not represented in the Commission at all. More than 60% of the population is outside the development of new laws. One can also speculate about whether the Commission could have worked at all. St. Petersburg generals and Kazan Cheremis, economic peasants and merchants, Orthodox priests and Muslims were called to work on one and, moreover, on a very difficult task of developing laws for the entire empire. At one of the meetings, a member of the Holy Synod, Metropolitan of Novgorod and Velikolutsk Dimitry Sechenov, sat next to Anyuk Ishelin, a representative of the unbaptized Kazan Chuvash, who knew Russian poorly

language.

564 DEPUTY BRING WITH THEM MORE THAN 1500 ORDERS

In direct elections, city and noble voters, having chosen a deputy, formed a commission that listened for three days

from voters statements about their needs, and then on the other three days she reduced these statements to a mandate. These orders were read by the commission to voters and handed over to the deputy. With three-stage elections of provincial deputies from rural residents, pogost or parish voters made up the "lowest petition" about their needs. The special attorney passed orders to the county attorney, and he - to his provincial deputy.

Each provincial deputy brought with him to the Commission as many petitions or mandates as there were graveyards with the townsfolk of his rank in the province he represented. The peasant deputy of the Arkhangelsk province brought 195 churchyard orders. The deputy was responsible to the society of his constituents for the timely submission of their petitions to the appropriate institutions. He could not contradict this order, and in case of personal disagreement with him, he had to resign his powers.

Both the orders and the minutes of the meetings of the Commission show that such different things were needed that there could be no question of any general development of laws for the entire empire. For example, Samoyed deputies declared in the Commission that they did not need any legislation at all, as long as the government forbade Russian settlers and chiefs to oppress them. And they don't need anything else! It

quickly became clear that the commission could not do anything worthwhile, and Catherine, it seems, quite naturally abandoned any idea of "the people's

creation of laws." But, firstly, was it really not clear from the very beginning that the composition of the Commission was too motley? That such a

Commission is, in principle, unworkable? And secondly, after all, Catherine wrote the Order to the Legislative Commission of 1767. So to speak, the highest opinion about what the deputies should do. 90% of the text of the Nakaz is a demagogic compilation from the writings of foreign political thinkers. There were also these words:

"The space of the state presupposes autocratic power in the person who rules it. It is necessary that the speed of affairs, from distant countries

sent, rewarded the slowness caused by the remoteness of the places. Any other administration would not only be harmful to Russia, but completely ruinous.”

Briefly and clearly. So that gentlemen deputies do not twitch, so that they do not even thought to limit the monarchy.

AGAIN ABOUT THE LIMITATION OF POWER

Any monarch cannot rule completely alone. The question is who and on what grounds can give him advice or develop laws with him. The Senate is almost inactive, and its members during the palace coups and the almost non-ruling Elizabeth took away too much power for themselves. We need a new Imperial Council...

The project of the permanent Imperial Council N.I. Panin is an inept, poorly made likeness of the future State Council, created by M.M. Speransky in 1810. But Alexander I created the Council and really at least tried

consult with senior officials.

But Catherine did not go to the creation of the Council. She was afraid that

“The council established by law will eventually raise the co-ruler to the value, bring the subject too close to the sovereign and may give rise to a desire to share power with him”

[21. S. 183].

But, as in all other cases, she used what was happening to her advantage. For example, it divided the Senate into six different departments, after which its legislative role was finally

came to naught.

Before Catherine, it was somehow not very clear to what extent and who could exercise legislative power. There were many institutions that could offer at least something at some time.

For example, the chief prosecutor of the Senate, Anisim Aleksandrovich Maslov, in 1734 submitted a bold project to emancipate the peasants. Even before that, he submitted several reports to Anna and her favorite Biron,

denouncing the idleness and bribery of senior officials. The government instructs him to collect multi-million dollar arrears ... And he denounced the plight of the peasants so zealously that Maslov was instructed to organize a discussion of the new law in the Senate.

Maslov's project of 1734 instructed the Senate to legislate the duties of the peasants, and to establish the measure of dues and corvée, to collect "as many people from military and civil ranks as it pleases." The Senate pulled as long as possible, and waited for its own

- in early 1735, Maslov died of illness and old age. He was about 70 years old. On the draft of the decree prepared by him, the mark of the secretary of the empress "wait" was preserved. Of course, this idea was not returned.

But then (under Biron! Under Anna!) such a discussion is at least theoretically possible. Under Catherine, all legislative power is transferred only to the government: the emperor and senior officials.

I hear a logical objection: if Catherine is only lying, why did she enjoy the undoubted support of society? And why was her reign called the Golden Age? The answer is simple - yes, because, regardless of the lies, her policy was beneficial to the top of society. Owners of basic material values, nobles.

Is there a usurper on the throne? The late emperor is not guilty of the slander that is erected against him? But "on the other hand" I received a hundred more souls in the Voronezh province, and my son was attached to the school on a government kosht.

In the same way, many Cossacks and peasants understood perfectly well that "the miraculously saved Pyotr Fedorovich" was the Cossack Pugachev. But it was beneficial for them to pretend that they believed in this lie.

The nobility was corrupted by lies and participation in lies. The educated layer of Russia got used to doublethink and hypocrisy. But the nobility received a fat piece from Catherine. One did not interfere with the other at all, but, on the contrary, helped. It turned out that it was profitable to lie. Stories about enlightenment turned into new serfs, about humanity - the right to exile and imprison, about the interests of the Fatherland - the acquisition of new estates.

Chapter

5 RUSSIA SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND

What is the king - such are the boyars.

Fact

GET YOUR OWN!

In the famous Manifesto on the freedom of the nobility, Peter III grants all nobles the right to serve or not to serve at all. Being in the service, the nobleman can leave it at any time. He has the right to freely travel abroad and serve foreign sovereigns. The restrictions are small: the government reserves the right not to dismiss officers during the war and three months before the start of the war, to call the nobles from abroad "when the need calls" and force them to serve when "special need calls." The rest of the time, outside of special situations, the nobles can be completely free from service. Young nobles could now study in Russia or in

European powers, in government institutions or at home.

The manifesto guarantees the nobility that they will not visit him corporal and other disgraceful punishments.

At the same time, the Manifesto proclaims, "so that no one dares, without teaching the sciences worthy of the noble nobility, to educate their children under our heavy anger" and nobles who do not serve without reason and do not teach their children, commanded all the true sons of the Fatherland

"As if they are negligent about the good in general, despise and humiliate, do not accept the court and do not tolerate in public meetings."

But all this is just moralizing, only the hope expressed aloud that the nobles, even without prompting from the law, will fulfill their public duty - the duty of the service class,

backbone of the state. But the state releases the nobility "to freedom." And although this paper became a document, the text of the law, only when the emperor, tired of a stormy night, signed it, the Russian nobles from the Petr Shuvalov Commission prepared the paper, since 1754 they had been preparing such or at least a document similar to it. The dream of the Russian nobility has come true:

it has become as free as a privileged estate in a feudal country can be.

And as you might guess, the Manifesto did not say a word about serfdom and the right of nobles to their estates. These rights have been and remain unshakable. In February 1762, the nobility

received all rights, all privileges, without sacrificing absolutely anything.

Thus ends the process that went on throughout

the era of palace coups, from the death of Peter in 1725 to the accession of Catherine II in 1762. Anna Ivanovna threw a fat piece to the nobles: she limited the

term of service of the nobles to 25 years, she finally canceled Peter's bad decree on uniform inheritance, but, of course, there were no elected institutions, no choice of officials, no constitution

arose...

Under Elizabeth, the guard played an even greater role than before.

After the Manifesto on the Liberty of the Nobility of Peter 111, the nobles continued to rule, but could not serve. Catherine

first canceled the Manifesto on the Liberty of the Nobility, as well as all the decisions of her husband. In fact, the nobles both began to use the rights of the Manifesto and used it. Moreover, it legally strengthened the

rights of nobles to own and exploit serfs. The rights of the landowner were in fact not regulated in any way and by nothing.

PROVINCE REFORM

Since the time of Peter I, the territory of the Russian Empire was divided into 9 huge provinces. And it is inconvenient to manage, and local government did not give special rights to the nobility.

November 7, 1775 Catherine II began the provincial reform. Instead of the 20 vast provinces into which Russia was then divided, now the whole empire was divided into 50 provinces. The provinces of Catherine are districts of 300-400 thousand souls of the male tax-paying population.

The governor was at the head of the province. He was appointed personally by the Empress and was directly subordinate to her. The governor in the province had all the power. He controlled the activities of all institutions and all officials. In order to ensure order in the provinces, all

military units and teams.

The main institution in the system of provincial administration was the provincial government headed by a governor or viceroy. This is an executive and police agency. All personnel in these institutions were appointed from the crown, without any participation of the local society. But in the Letter of Complaint

to the nobility on April 21, 1785, the nobles were granted the right to choose district and provincial marshals of the nobility. Every three years, the county nobles elected a

county marshal. He became an assistant to the local administration. Every three years, the nobles gathered in the provincial city and chose each other for various positions among the feasts and amusements that they were treated to by "their brethren" - the provincial marshal and governor. The revival that characterized the establishments of the nobility even aroused exaggerated fear in foreigners: two Frenchmen who traveled around Russia in the early 1790s, having heard enough of these speeches, prophesied in their notes that

"Sooner or later, these meetings will certainly lead to a great revolution"

[21].

There was nothing like the French Revolution. The nobles did not even return to the projects of the "future" of the "supreme leaders". Maybe because the nobles remained the most privileged class.

The provinces were divided into counties of 20-30 thousand taxable souls. All management in the counties was given to the nobility. The nobility elected a police captain (head of the county) and assessors of the Lower Zemsky Court for three years. The police captain and the Lower Zemstvo Court were the main authorities in the county.

After the provincial reform, all boards ceased to function, except for the most important ones - Foreign, Military, Admiralty. Their functions began to be carried out by provincial bodies.

SELF-GOVERNMENT OF CITIES

On the same day, April 21, 1785, the Letter of Complaint to the cities was published.

The city was an independent administrative unit. The mayor ruled the city. He was appointed by the government from retired nobles. The city was divided into parts of 200-700 houses, headed by a private bailiff, and into blocks of 50-100 houses, headed by a district warden. The entire urban population was entered into

the City Philistine Book and was divided into 6 categories: the nobility and the clergy, merchants, divided depending on the capital into three guilds (merchants of the 1st guild - the richest - had the preferential right to conduct domestic and foreign trade; merchants stood below 2nd guild, they had the right to large-scale domestic trade; merchants of the 3rd guild were engaged in small county and city trade); guild artisans; foreigners permanently living in cities; eminent citizens; townspeople who lived by crafts or work for hire. Residents of the city every three years elected a self-government body - the General City Duma, the mayor and judges.

ESTATE ORGANIZATION

After April 21, 1785, when on her birthday the Empress issued a "Charter to the nobility", this class was sharply separated from other classes. The freedom of the nobility from the payment of taxes, from compulsory service, bodily

punishments. The nobles were officially given the title of "noble class". Nobles could only be judged by a noble court. Only nobles had the right to own land and serfs.

According to the "Letter of Letters", a nobleman uses real estate on the right of full ownership, transfers his title to his wife and children, does not lose this title except by court for certain crimes, the sentence on the crime of a nobleman becomes valid only with the approval of the supreme authority. Assemblies of nobility have the right to intercede about their class needs before the supreme government. The estates of Russia lived

according to very different laws. There were almost no unified rules, members of different estates almost never gathered to perform common affairs. They did not have a single elected government. Catherine II separated the

judiciary from the executive. All estates, except for the serfs, were to take part in local government. Each estate received its own court. So Catherine completed the formation of estates. They turned into closed groups

that had different rights and privileges. Class affiliation began to be inherited, the transition from one class to another was extremely difficult.

tidying up

The nobles received not only colossal class rights. After the provincial and city reforms, they began to manage all the territories of the Russian Empire. Moreover, living in the Empire has become incomparably safer and more convenient than even under Elizabeth.

With her, large gangs of 100 and 200 cavalry, either robbers or rebels, were gradually caught or they left the state, but all "Elizabeth's reign was full of local silent indignations of the peasants, especially the monasteries. Squads of pacification were sent out to beat the rebels or

were beaten by them, depending on whose one she took. These were trial small outbreaks, 20-30 years later merged into

"Pugachev fire"

[21. S. 183].

But after the "Pugachev fire" it became relatively calm! If Peter occupied Russia with his own army, then Catherine occupied it with nobles. Dominating in the provinces, cities and counties, the nobility controlled the establishment of order and itself brought it about. Until quite recently, even in the

capitals it was unsafe. What is at least Ivan Osipov worth, who went down in history as Vanka-Cain, a thief, a robber, and then a Moscow detective.

A native of the village of Ivanovo, he belonged to the merchant Filatiev. Barin took 13-year-old Ivan with him to Moscow. There are two versions... according to one, Vanka robbed his master and fled to the Volga, to the robbers. According to the second version, the police returned him from the escape. Then Vanka denounced the "seditious speeches" of the merchant and received freedom for the

denunciation ... At first he stole in Moscow, then he nevertheless leaned on the Volga. There he robbed in the gang of Mikhail Zori. At the end of 1741, Vanka-Kain appeared in Moscow, in a detective order and offered his services to catch thieves. An offer that kills in the criminal world. But Vanka-Kain was hired, he was given the title of informer of the detective order. He caught petty thieves, and at the same time sheltered large ones, pursued schismatics, extorting money from them. He opened a gambling house and did not stop even before organizing open robberies. Under the auspices of Vanka-Cain, the number of thieves, swindlers, robbers increased in Moscow every year. It was becoming danger

But it was not possible to cope with him: Vanka-Cain bribed the detective order, the police and the Senate office several times. In the spring of 1748, fires and robberies in Moscow reached such a limit that St. Petersburg was also horrified. Major General Ushakov was sent to Moscow with an army. Under his chairmanship, a commission of inquiry was established, which little by little uncovered the tricks of Vanka-Cain.

Convinced that the entire Moscow police were in conspiracy with Vanka-Kain, Ushakov's successor, Chief of Police General Tatishchev, petitioned in 1749 to establish a special commission on the case of Vanka-Kain. In 1753, the case of Vanka-Kain was transferred to the detective department, whose personnel had changed by that time. In 1755, Vanka-Kain was sentenced to death, but by decree of the Senate he was whipped and sent to hard labor. Since then, all traces of him have been lost, and where he laid the bones is unknown.

As you can see, even under Elizabeth, even in Moscow, military teams had to be sent to pacify criminals. After the Pugachev uprising, even in the provinces it was quite calm.

LETTER TO THE NOBILITY

A charter granted to the nobility, if in full - "A letter on the rights, liberties and advantages of the noble Russian nobility" - confirms everything given by the Manifesto of 1762: freedom from compulsory service, getting rid of the poll tax, corporal punishment, from standing troops. Only a noble court could judge a nobleman, and his estate could not be confiscated for any crimes. Only nobles could own land and serfs, they also owned subsoil in their estates, had the right to develop subsoil, start factories and trade.

Catherine II even gives additional guarantees.

Under Catherine, the nobles received such rights that the serfs actually became their slaves, and the nobles began to rule in all provinces.

The nobility, bribed by the government, no longer looked for ways to introduce the Constitution. There were no more mass demonstrations. In

just thirty-seven years that have passed since the death of Peter, the nobility acquired several, without exaggeration, exceptional benefits that formed a completely different position of this class, unexpected and not foreseen by Peter: 1) The hereditary nobility

has developed as a special class, separated from other service people and even from services in general. Nobles have privileges whether they serve or not.

2) The nobility receives a number of civil rights that no other groups of the population of the Russian Empire have. 3) Nobles

receive the right to freely dispose of their land holdings, and also regardless of whether they serve or

No.

4) In addition, the nobles receive: -
the right to sell peasants without land, that is, their actual transformation into slaves of the nobility;

- expansion of judicial and police power over serfs, almost equal to the power of the state, up to the right to exile and send them to hard labor;

- the possibility of obtaining a cheap state loan, which keeps the landed estates afloat, regardless of their real profitability. What does all this mean in practice? Yes, the fact

that the transitional, inter-wise period has ended - the era of palace coups, from 1725 to 1762. Peter, with his emergency, destroyed both the laws and traditions in the country, enslaved the service class in a way that no one before him could enslave him. In just thirty years, the emancipation of the nobility took place; its

transformation from the most downtrodden and disenfranchised class into the most powerful and privileged.

The nobility and, above all, its party, the guards, are striving for the very guarantees under which the entire eighteenth century passes: guarantees of property and personal inviolability.

By the time of Elizabeth and especially Catherine, a certain
an unspoken agreement between the government and the nobility.

The nobility forgets about the idea of limiting the monarchy, about the constitution and other undertakings unpleasant for the government. The nobility is not given civil rights, and in a number of respects it remains much more deprived of rights than even the philistinism in Sweden or France. The government

retains autocracy, allowing only the highest stratum of the nobility and only deliberative power - the right to give advice to the monarch or the highest officials.

But "on the other hand" the government takes more and more from the whole people and gives more and more to the nobility, turning the nobility into

privileged class. The nobility is

given enormous and ever increasing privileges; more and more rights not to serve, continuing to own property given specifically for service; more and more power over the serfs. Peter corrupted the nobility, showing them unpunished blasphemy, monstrous arbitrariness and the wildest morals, corrupted, making servility, meanness, embezzlement and all kinds of spiritual baseness profitable. Since the time of Elizabeth, the nobility has been corrupted, not given any civil rights, but privileges. Exceptional, implausible privileges!

The nobles had the right to self-government; in the provinces and districts, meetings of the nobility were convened every three years, electing district and provincial marshals of the nobility, court assessors and police captains who headed the district administration.

The government of Catherine II was actually going to give letters of commendation to both the cities and the peasantry, but in the end gave it only to the townspeople. The peasants simply had nothing to "compassionate" with - the nobility received virtually all the resources of the state in their own and only your use...

All this was given to people who, at the same time, were under the law and considered themselves serfs, even if not serfs of private individuals, but of the state and its incarnation - the monarch. That is, people who have not been brought up in any way, have not been taught how to use their privileges, including their colossal, implausible power over other people.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The official reason for Catherine's concerns about public schools is a touching concern about education. After all, the Russian people are not yet spiritually developed. Upbringing and education had to develop the Russian person. Through upbringing and education, the empress will create a new "breed of people", and they themselves, through the family, will spread the principles of the new upbringing to the whole society.

If without demagoguery, then the government wants to replenish the nobility with those who are not well-born, not noble, not dignitaries. Such

commoners, mostly townspeople, replenished the very bottom of the nobility. They performed work that seemed unprestigious for the native nobility:

non-commissioned officers, lower-ranking officials, non-professional officials such as copyists or couriers, artists, librarians and so on.

Such a layer of not well-born and poor was necessary and located between the people and the nobility. The

education reform was led by the President of the Academy of Arts I.I. Betsky. To help him, one of the best teachers in Europe, Serb F.I. was invited to Russia. Jankovic de Mirievo. According to this project, closed schools for the nobility, educational

houses for the townspeople, institutes for noble maidens were created. In these institutions, children were to be brought up from 6 to 18-20

years in isolation from any "bad influence".

A network of two-class schools in districts and four-class schools in provincial towns has grown in the provinces. These schools were classless, not only the nobles studied in them, but also the children of the top townspeople - merchants and burghers. By the end of Catherine's

reign, a system of secondary education was established in Russia. It covered 550 educational institutions with a total number of students of 60-70 thousand people (*Pavlenko N.I.* Catherine the Great. - M., 2000).

Worthless are the broadcast statements that a "new breed of people" will be forged in these institutions and their graduates will put an end to ignorance, slavery, lack of culture and the vices of society forever. But the nobility received their class institutions in which they could reproduce their type of culture. And in the schools for the townspeople they prepared replenishment for the nobility:

new petty officials and freelancers.

The generation of nobles and townspeople, born between 1750 and 1762, had many more opportunities for education, a safe and successful life than the generation of their parents. Peter I did not order the wedding of illiterate nobles, but, like all punitive

measures, they achieved little. Up to 20% provincial

nobles and up to 60% of noblewomen by 1762 were illiterate or semi-literate. Only half of the nobles had books in their homes, except for liturgical ones.

By the end of Catherine's reign, if the illiterate nobles remained, they were mostly old men and especially old women. Ignorance and illiteracy are deeply unprestigious. And the nobility was replenished almost exclusively with literate and at least a little educated people from among those who graduated from college. For Catherine's contemporaries, the successes of

enlightenment in her era were quite obvious.

EMPIRE AS SAID

Peter I called his state an empire. Rather, he was wishful thinking. Under Elizabeth, the Russian Empire won the Seven Years' War and proved to be a mighty European power. She was reckoned with. She became afraid.

The imperial power of Russia stood on two pillars: 1) the vast material resources of the vast empire; 2) the colossal concentration of these resources in the hands of the government and the nobility. The empire could assemble large and well-trained armies, quickly supply them with everything they needed and concentrate on the direction it needed.

Under Catherine the Russian Empire spread in four directions:

1) entered the Pacific Ocean and began to explore Alaska; 2) annexed part of Kazakhstan and went to Central Asia; 3) conquered the south of Russia, annexed the Crimea and entered the North Caucasus; 4) partitioned Poland and included almost all the lands of Ancient Rus' into the empire.

NEW RUSSIA

In the 18th century, the Russian Empire did what neither the Austrian Empire nor entire coalitions of European powers could do: it crushed the Ottoman Turkish Empire in several wars.

Having settled down on the ancient lands of Byzantium, Turkey turns into a source of danger for the whole of Southern, Eastern and even Central Europe: for all regions of Rus', Poland, Hungary, Italy, Austria. The Turks bring the Christians "the light of the true faith." Since 1475, the Crimean Khanate has been a vassal of Turkey. The raids of the Crimean Tatars made the southern Russian steppes uninhabited by the Wild Field. They call different numbers of slaves captured in Poland, Ukraine, Southern Rus', the lands of the Austrian Empire and sold into slavery through the Crimea - from 500 thousand to 5 million. The spread of numbers shows one thing: no one counted.

The Russian army, having defeated the Ottoman Empire in eight (!) wars, eliminated a three-century-old threat to all of Europe. The victory of the Russian Empire over the Turks was the solution of pan-European problems. But they were decided by one very specific power!

At the end of the 18th century, the Russians conquered the Crimea and the entire Northern Black Sea region - border lands that, due to the enmity of Christians and Muslims, no one could cultivate and develop. In the Black Sea steppes, grasses hid a rider with a pike. The Cossacks said about them that "you just need to stick a shaft, and the cart will grow by itself." But before the Russian Empire destroyed the Crimean Khanate and weaned the Turks from considering the Black Sea a Turkish lake, no one could "stick a shaft" without a direct risk to life and freedom.

The Christian population of the Balkan Peninsula - Greeks, South Slavs - is increasingly looking at the Russian Empire as a possible liberator. The Russian Empire really could, alone, without other powers, conquer the Balkan Peninsula and even take Istanbul-Constantinople itself. It was about such a strengthening of the Russian Empire, about such a change in the balance of international forces that the whole of Europe was alarmed. During

the Russian-Turkish war of 1768-1774, General P.A. Rumyantsev defeated the Turkish army at Larga and Cahul. The Russian fleet under the command of Admiral G.A. Spiridov left the Baltic, circled Europe and entered the Mediterranean Sea. Here, A.G. took over the leadership of the hostilities. Orlov. Russian command

turned to military stratagem. In 1770, the entire Turkish fleet was lured into the cramped Chesme Bay, locked up and set on fire at night. The Turkish fleet burned down in the Chesme Bay overnight. Perhaps

the most important thing: in 1771, Russian troops occupied all the main centers of the Crimea. In 1772, the last Crimean Khan Shagin-Girey (on the "advice" of Russia) proclaimed the independence of the Crimea from Turkey. In 1773,

Suvorov's troops took the Turkish fortresses Turtukai, and in 1774 - Kozludzha. In 1774, a peace treaty was signed in the Bulgarian village of Kyuchuk-Kaynardzhi. Under this agreement, Turkey recognized the independence of Crimea, Russia received the right to unhindered navigation on the Black Sea, the right to pass through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and also the right to have its own fleet on the Black Sea. Georgia was liberated from the hardest "blood tribute": young men and girls sent to Turkey as slaves. The rights of Orthodox peoples in the Ottoman Empire (Moldovans, Greeks, Romanians, Georgians) expanded. In 1782, Catherine points out to Potemkin:

"we should think about the appropriation of this peninsula."

Potemkin, through his envoy, General Samoilov, offers Shagin-Giray to peacefully cede the Crimea to Russia, for which he promises to help elevate him to the throne in Persia.

Shagin, after new uprisings of his subjects and new blood, announced that he did not want to be the khan of such an insidious people. At the end of February 1783, the last Crimean Khan Shagin-Girey abdicated, placing himself under the protection of Russia. For this, he was promised 200,000 annual salaries and then a khanate in Persia.

On April 8 of the same year, the highest manifesto of Catherine II announced to Europe that "the Crimean Peninsula, the island of Taman and the entire Kuban side were taken under the Russian state."

Russia ceded the vast territories of the Northern Black Sea region and the North Caucasus. More than 500 thousand square kilometers of black soil. 55% of the world's black soil. It was a whole new country, and they called it Novorossia. Viceroy

Novorossia was appointed the most talented favorite of Catherine II G.A. Potemkin.

For 4 years, the tireless work of G.A. Potemkin Novorossiya has become a flourishing land. He founded the cities of Kherson, Nikolaev, Yekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk), Nikopol, and Odessa. G.A. Potemkin started agriculture, crafts, created industry. He invited immigrants from other countries, attracted them with low taxes. The first ships of the Black Sea Fleet were built in Kherson. In the convenient bay of Akhtiar, the construction of Sevastopol, the main base of the Black Sea Fleet, began. Later, for his labors for the benefit of the Russian state, he received the title of the Most Serene Prince and an honorary addition to the surname - Potemkin-Tavrichesky.

Russia also stepped into the Transcaucasus, relying on fellow believers Christian nations.

Georgia at that time was not a single state. Kakhetia and Kartalinia, under the rule of King Erekle II, united into Eastern Georgia. The Georgian principalities in the west - Imeretia, Mengrelia, Guria - each had their own kings or sovereign princes. Kakheti and Karta-liniya paid a shameful tribute of beautiful girls to the Persians, and Imereti, Mengrelia, Guria paid the same tribute to the Turks. When trying to disobey, Türkiye and Persia organized raids on Georgian lands. On July 27, 1783, in the fortress of Georgievsk

(Northern Caucasus), an agreement was concluded between the Georgian king of Eastern Georgia (Kakhetia and Kartalinia) Erekle II and Russia on patronage. According to the Georgievsky Treaty, Eastern Georgia passed under the protection of Russia while maintaining autonomy. Russia guaranteed Eastern Georgia territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. In 1787, Catherine II traveled south to Novorossia. In Turkey, Catherine's journey was regarded as

Russia's desire to further expand Russia's borders in the south at the expense of Turkish territories. In 1787, the Turkish Sultan declared war on Russia. The second Russian-Turkish war in the reign of Catherine II began. Military talent A.V. Suvorov by this time flourished. In July 1789 he defeated the Turks at

Focsany, in August 1789 - on the Rymnik River.

The victory was close, but it was impossible without the capture of Ishmael. Izmail - a Turkish fortress, built shortly before by the French, with walls 25 meters high, was considered impregnable and was the pride of the Turkish Sultan. In 1790 A.V. Suvorov was ordered

to take Ishmael. Near Izmail, his military fate was at stake: A.V. Suvorov was already 60 years old. Commandant Izmail A.V. Suvorov wrote: "24 hours for reflection - will, my first shot is already captivity; storm - death. In the early morning of December 11, 1790, Russian troops launched an assault on the fortress. One of the main blows was delivered by General M.I. Kutuzov. The forces of the troops of M.I. Kutuzov dried up, and he was already preparing to retreat. And then right on the battlefield A.V. Suvorov sent him a message that a dispatch about the victory had been sent to St. Petersburg, and M.I. Kutuzov was appointed commandant of Ishmael. M.I. Kutuzov understood: he must either take Ishmael or die under its walls. After 6 hours, Ishmael was taken. Russia rejoiced. On the capture of Ishmael G.R. Derzhavin wrote poems "Thunder of victory, resound! Have fun, brave ones! Composer O.A. Kozlovsky wrote the music. The resulting song G.A. Potemkin turned into an unofficial national Russian

hymn.

Brilliant victories were also won at sea. Commander of the young Black Sea Fleet F.F. Ushakov in 1791 defeated the Turkish fleet at Cape Kaliakria.

The way to Istanbul was opened to Russian troops. The Turks hurried to sit down at the negotiating table. In 1791, a peace treaty was concluded in Iasi. According to the Yassy Peace Treaty, the Ottoman Empire recognized the Crimea as a possession of Russia, and Russia included the territories between the Bug and Dniester rivers, as well as Taman and Kuban. Türkiye recognized the Russian patronage of Georgia, established by the Treaty of St. George in 1783.

SOLUTION OF THE POLISH QUESTION

The idea of dividing Poland as an unpredictable state that causes a lot of unrest to its neighbors appeared in international politics as early as the beginning of the 18th century in Prussia and Austria. In the time of Catherine II, from day to day one could expect

collapse of the Commonwealth. The Prussian king again put forward a plan for the dismemberment of Poland and invited Russia to join him. Catherine II considered it expedient to preserve a united Poland, but then decided to use the weakness of Poland and return those ancient Russian lands that had been captured by Poland during the period of feudal fragmentation.

In 1772, 1793, 1795 Austria, Prussia, Russia produced three sections of the Commonwealth.

After the third partition in 1795, Lithuania, Western Belarus, Volhynia, Courland were ceded to Russia. The Poles lost their statehood. Until 1918, Polish lands were part of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Thus, as a result of the three divisions of the Commonwealth,

Russia returned all the ancient Russian lands, and also received new territories - Lithuania and Courland.

Thus, over the 34 years of Catherine's reign, the territory of the Russian state grew by about 2 million square kilometers. The population of the empire has either doubled, or almost doubled, it is difficult to say for sure because of the approximation of all calculations.

"Russia has no friends. Everyone is afraid of our immensity," - so, according to legend, Alexander III said on his deathbed to his son, heir to the throne, Nicholas II. Note - they are not "afraid of our strength" ... Or "our power." No, it is our vastness. Russia was the largest of all under Catherine II. The Russian empire is unbelievably large, stretching from the Carpathians and the Baltic states to California and Alaska.

The success of foreign policy is not the only reason to call the reign of Catherine II the golden age. But this is an important reason! Under Catherine, the Russian Empire solved problems that Muscovy and the Russian Empire could not solve for centuries. These were tasks that the European powers were not able to solve either.

The Russian Empire loomed menacingly over Europe, dictating its policy to it. After the conquests of Catherine II, all European states were looking for an alliance and support for Russia. The head of Russian foreign policy under Catherine II, Chancellor A.A. Bezborodko told young diplomats at the end of his career:

"I don't know how it will be with you, but with us not a single gun in Europe did not dare to blurt out without our permission.

It was a success for the state, but at the same time a corporate one.

the success of the faithful servants of the state, the Russian nobles.

Is it any wonder that the times of Catherine II will be remembered in different ways ... but, as a rule, with a charge of nostalgia. Under her rule, the Russian Empire really achieved colossal, almost unbelievable power.

HOW MUCH WAS NOBLE?

At the end of the 18th century, about 224 thousand people were recorded in pillar books ... But sometimes unborn children were recorded so that by the age of majority they would already have time to enroll in the regiments and "earn" for themselves the right to enter the service as officers. And others who have the right to nobility by seniority of ranks, but who did not have time to formalize the nobility, cannot be counted. Not to mention the fact that

224 thousand people are men, youths, boys. To get the number of estates, multiply by two ...

There are about 14,000–16,000 officials in the Russian Empire, including 4,000 senior, honored ones, from class I to VIII according to the Table of Ranks. The

number of officers also has to be calculated approximately, based on the number of generals - it is known: 500 people. Traditionally for the Russian army the ratio is 1 general to 30 officers. So, the Russian officer corps of the late 18th century did not exceed 14-15 thousand.

It makes sense, right, to take into account all this small number of people. The entire colossal empire, with its astronomical distances and population of many millions, is controlled, in essence, by a handful of people. All these people, if they do not know each other without exception, then in any case any outstanding, somehow interesting, bright official is always in sight. Any nobleman with unusual beliefs, a large library, behavioral characteristics immediately stands out, is celebrated by society.

There is an anecdote going around the world today that each of us, through the tenth acquaintance, can contact the President of the United States. In the world of Russian bureaucracy and the nobility, anyone could always find a friend, relative, acquaintance who is familiar with almost any prominent person. Seeking protection is

easy. To many modern readers of Pushkin, the happy ending of *The Captain's Daughter* seems to be a convention, something far-fetched. Contemporaries thought otherwise. The daughter of one of the 15 thousand officers of the Russian Empire could very well turn to the highest dignitaries and even to the Empress herself for help. At least it wasn't unbelievable.

Catherine's desire for a fair and gracious decision is not so far-fetched either. It would be deeply wrong to present her as a complete moral monster, and even more so as a clinical sadist. Pyotr Grinev did nothing wrong to her personally and to her state. In dealing with him, ordinary human feelings are natural.

Let's not even talk about the political, propaganda effect of any kind of gracious, reasonable and fair decisions of the supreme power, including the correction of excesses "on the ground." But Masha Mironova, Petya Grinev and tens, hundreds of thousands of such Masha and Sing - this is the people for whom she, the "poor empress", works. The rationality and justice of power strengthen the nobility. The reliability and trust of nobles strengthen power. The opportunity to turn "to the very top" and correct the mistakes of the lower and middle authorities is an excellent confirmation of both the high quality of the supreme power and the reasonableness of the patronage system itself.

The number of clergy is better known than officers and officials - there were 215,000 priests in the Russian Empire in 1795. The class is far from privileged to the same extent, but also did not pay taxes, and taught children like townspeople and officials.

WERE THE NOBLERS THE "BEST" PEOPLE OF THE PEOPLE?

If you wish, you can say a lot about this class, but here is some information for you to think about: during the Pugachev rebellion, more

three hundred nobles, men and women, were hanged for refusing to recognize Pugachev as the legitimate sovereign Peter III and swear allegiance

to him as their emperor. How this happened was very well described by A.S. Pushkin in his "The Captain's Daughter". People stood under the gallows, knowing full well what awaits them. Very often their wives and children also stood there; the man understood that they, too, would share his fate. There were cases when the Pugachevites hanged or shot noble children in front of their fathers and mothers. So - there was no case for parents to save their children

by swearing allegiance to the rebel. Women, too, could be saved: who prevented them from recognizing the impostor, from renouncing their husband, from the oath? Nobody! Just the animal instinct of self-preservation would force them to renounce and admit. But hundreds of Russian women died in exactly the same way as Captain

Mironova in The Captain's Daughter. In the entire history of the Pugachev region, only 1 (one!) nobleman is known who went to serve the impostor. His surname is Shvanvich, while Pushkin's is Shvabrin. That's pretty much how he was. Violation of dueling rules? And it was! Alexei Orlov's cheek was cut from the corner of his mouth to his ear: during a duel with this Shvanvich, he looked back at a scream. Pugachev Shvanvich went to serve, not at all expecting to get something from him, everything was easier. At first he was afraid of death and became a traitor, and then he

had no way back. At the same time, commoners swore allegiance to Pugachev more than once! This was done by ordinary soldiers, and courtyard people, servants of the landowners. They stood under the gallows, got scared

Then many of them rushed back - and, by the way, the landowners often received them! Because it was possible for a servant to be a little animal, he could afford it. But the master was not allowed, he was not forgiven for this.

A servant could do low deeds and remain a servant. A nobleman could not

commit low deeds and remain nobleman.

In the English army of the same time, it was taken for granted that a gentleman could do more than a commoner. He is more

can pass on the march, endure more hardships, he shows more courage, more steadfast in the siege. The British believed that it was all about the "breed". A racehorse is better than a peasant nag - it is more enduring and stronger. The mongrel horse got up exhausted, and that's all - you won't demand more from it. A thoroughbred horse, by its very nature, can do more, and the demand is

different from it. British physicians of the 18th century believed that gentlemen and ladies were better able to endure pain than commoners.

However, there is an even easier way to find out if the nobles are better people in some way. The Turkish fortress of Azov has survived to this day. The height of the walls of Azov is about 30 meters. Do you want to be nobles? It's simple: we take a ladder (a 30-meter one will weigh about 150 kg), three or four of us drag it and put it against the wall. Under enemy fire, of course. A sword in the teeth, pistols at the ready, and - forward. The Turks are trying to push the ladder away from the wall, and they may well succeed. They shoot at you who have reached the top, cut with sabers. Have you ever seen a scimitar? A razor-sharp, heavy blade that can cut through a pillow on the fly. It is precisely with a scimitar that they will try to cut you down when you hang at the very end of the stairs, 30 meters from the ground.

But the nobility is not for climbing and then cutting yourself on the walls! Nobility - if you do it better than others, and much more. If you pull out the wounded, encourage those going to storm, you show special courage. So that you are noticed, appreciated, follow you. Then there is a chance to get the nobility.

By the way, each generation will confirm this right with their personal courage. Don't want that? Don't you want to? Well then draw your own conclusions.

"MOTHER EKATERINA"

The nobility, not without reason, believed that Catherine was taking care of the nobility and that she was "like a mother" to them. Mom could be strict, demanded work for the common good and "strict devotion", sometimes punished, and severely. But she invariably took care of her beloved class, gave it new rights and privileges, taught and

civilized this class to the best of her ability. For 600 thousand nobles, she really was "mother."

Only they, these nobles, are the "Russian people" for the government; only they exist politically. The remaining 35 or even 40 million inhabitants, as it were, do not exist.

In the Greek city-states, citizens, personally free non-citizens, and slaves - public and private - were sharply distinguished. In the Russian Empire, only nobles act as privileged citizens. Priests, wealthy merchants can become an analogue of free non-citizens. They are not particularly muzzled, but they are not considered full-fledged people either, they are not allowed to make decisions. The peasants and most of the townspeople are typical helots, without the slightest sign of any human rights.

The nobility was true to Catherine until her death on November 6, 1796. It was also true of her government. Noble historians highly appreciated Catherine and all her deeds. It was believed that she really works for the people.

Chapter

6 RUSSIA FORTY MILLIONS

*Yes, he is sad in the days of
adversity, Listening to his
native voice, That the Russian
land has split into two different peoples.*

Count A.K. Tolstoy

SPACE AND TIME OF THE EMPIRE

We still involuntarily underestimate the enormity of Russia ... and of the whole world, because we measure the country by modern standards. This is today, now our country can be crossed from west to east in eight hours of flight on IL-68 and even on TU-154. And even by train in just seven days - this is how long the Rossiya train travels from Vladivostok to Moscow. It involuntarily seems to us that the spaces of Russia in the 18th century were also accessible ... well, almost the same. And this is a deep mistake. News about everything that is happening both in the Russian Federation and around the world, we receive the latest, today's. If necessary, a modern person anywhere in Russia will be able to find out how the armed coup in Senegal ended, what the President of Sri Lanka said to the Prime Minister of India, and which billionaire gave an abortion to which movie star in Hollywood. They will even show you on TV how a Swedish hockey player scored a goal against the Czech team in Calgary; idle people even calculated that the viewer would see it a fraction of a second faster than those sitting in the back stands. Modern means of transportation have made the world small... and

means of communication - even less.

In the 18th century, the world was subjectively much larger than the modern one. Not, of course, because the dimensions of the globe have changed, but because the methods of transportation, means of transportation have changed.

connections.

Before the advent of the steam locomotive, the steamboat, the means of transportation was the same in Roman times, and in the 18th century - horses. The maximum speed of movement is the speed of a galloping horse: about 15-20 kilometers per hour, but this is on a short stretch. A strong man can ride for 10 or 15 hours a day, changing horses. In 1796, when Catherine died, a government courier rode from St. Petersburg to Irkutsk, the most remote provincial city of the Russian Empire, 6,000 miles in 34 days.

But this is the speed of movement of a strong, young man who carries important state news, gives all his best, breaks from all tendons. And for whom the entire government apparatus, the entire system of the then communications, works.

But if you are not traveling alone, traveling with your family, taking with you what you need for life? It is in our time we sit on the train, comfortably lean back in the seat on the plane. Strictly speaking, we are not driving, but we are being driven. In the 18th century, it was necessary to go, to devour the distance yourself. If you go with your family, with children, even if in a comfortable carriage and with supplies for all occasions, then you can do the same 15-20 versts in a whole day. From the black earth district towns, the landowners left for Moscow in the fall and traveled for two, three weeks, covering at most 400 versts during this period, and less.

Of course, by that time another means of transportation had been invented - an ocean-going ship with several masts, with a whole system of sails, ranging in size from a football field to a handkerchief. A live horse gets tired, it needs to be allowed to rest. A ship made of wood and canvas runs in waves, on inflated sails at least 24 hours a day - if only the wind were fair. And even if the wind is not fair, the ship can go on tacks - at an angle to the headwind. But even where sea spaces already connected, and did not separate people, they still moved very slowly: from America to Europe they sailed for about a month and a half. From Britain to India - at least two, and it was still considered very, very fast. On the continental expanses of the Russian Empire, for obvious reasons, they

did not sail on ships. Russia in the 18th century was 30 times, 40 times "slower" than modern Russia, and subjectively larger by the same number of times.

There was an effect that today exists only for space objects: when, due to the vastness of the distance, we see different stars and even galaxies at different times. After all, light travels from the Sun for only 8 minutes, from most visible stars - from 5-6 to 200 years, and from some galaxies - 300 million years, a billion each. And it may very well be that we see the light of already non-existent stars.

And then, in the XVIII century, such a difference in time turned out to be something completely ordinary, and on the scale of Mother Earth and even one state: the Urals obeyed the decrees of the already dead Catherine for 10 days, Siberia - for a month, and more.

It took a week to travel from Moscow to St. Petersburg - in St. Petersburg the "fresh" news from Moscow turned out to be already a week old, and from the Volga region even very important news, say, about the Pugachev uprising, could go for two weeks, or three ... "Moskovskie Vedomosti" for May 25, 1799. For years, the Moscow news for May 19 was printed, from Italy - April, and from New York - March. News from New York, however, came to St. Petersburg faster than from Kamchatka or from Russian America. We traveled from Kamchatka to St. Petersburg for two years. In 1848-1849, the captain of the Baikal transport, Gennady Ivanovich Nevelskoy, proved that it was more profitable to transport goods to Kamchatka by ships than by land. He carried what was necessary for the inhabitants of Kamchatka for "only" eight months, and it took two years to transport them by dry land.

The whole world lived in the same way, not only Russia. In January 1786, Alexander Humboldt was very happy to receive news from Peru - very fresh information about another war with the Indians - only nine months old. In 1848, Americans began to settle in California, but until the 1860s, when the railroads were built, it took 2-3 months for Washington to learn about events in California. The famous Mormon march to the future state of Utah in 1837 was literally a journey into the unknown. These adventures were known in four to six months. Because of such slowness, the New Year was not celebrated either: for the majority of the country's

population, the celebration would not have happened, and for the most prosaic reason - because they did not have watches. But even in the homes of educated people who had clocks... how, by what means could clock hands be coordinated within at least one city?! No, well, in the city it was possible

strike the bells... And how to harmonize the hands of the clocks in several cities of the empire - in St. Petersburg, Kyiv, Kharkov, Armavir, Mariupol? People were forced to live in a much closer time than we do. Yes, and in those centuries they did not attach importance to such small periods of time - hours, minutes, seconds, they lived much more leisurely.

Officials received leave from December 24 to January 7; 24-26, at the beginning of the Christmas holidays, and saw off the old year, and on the night of December 31 to January 1, as a rule, they rested peacefully. Even the 1700s and 1800s were not met by the population in the way that they are now meeting the turn

of the century. Peter I began to rule in a country that was even larger - because the roads were in a completely monstrous state. After all, in the era of "Mother Catherine" the nobility still traveled back and forth across the empire. And with the goals of management, and according to their own needs and interests. And under Peter, no one particularly aspired anywhere. Have you appointed a viceroy? He traveled to the place of future service, once every two years. Time didn't really matter. Well, he traveled from Moscow to Armavir for a month. Well, two months... What's the difference?

And let's say, the voivode traveled to Yakutsk not for months, but for three whole years. The first year we traveled to Tobolsk. The second - to Irkutsk. And in the third year they rode horses to the upper reaches of the Lena and

rafted with water to Yakutsk. Here it is especially noticeable how the people of the beginning of the 18th century treated the time. The governor spent six years of active life on the way back and forth - despite the fact that in those

days they lived noticeably less than now. At the end of the 18th century, everything was a little better: faster communications and an empire a little "smaller", more compact. Already not years, already "only" months of travel separate the courier from St. Petersburg to Irkutsk.

PEOPLE OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Peter I ascended the throne of a country where about 11 million people lived. "Approximately" - because no one counted for sure, there were no censuses.

When Catherine II ascended the throne, the population of the empire was approximately 20 million people. By the end of her reign ... however, serious contradictions arise here. N.Ya. Eidelman calls "about forty million", but elsewhere he starts talking about "thirty-three with a little". S.G. Pushkarev calls the figure 34 million. IN. Klyuchevsky is talking about 36 million. The fact is that both then, and much later, the empire did not conduct censuses

the entire population.

Regular censuses have been taken in the United States since 1790. In Sweden - since 1800; in Britain - since 1801, in Norway - since 1815, in France - since 1831. In the Russian Empire, the first (and last) census took place only in 1897.

Prior to that, it was not the population that was counted, but the payers of taxes - revision souls. These audit souls were included in the lists - revision tales. Each revision soul was considered cash even in case of death until the next revision. Chichikov's scam is based on this: they do not bring any income to the landowner to buy peasants who have died, but formally they are registered according to the audit. There were 10 revisions in the Russian Empire: in 1719, 1744-1745, 1763, 1782, 1795, 1811, 1815, 1833, 1850 and 1857. If Chichikov bought "dead souls" in 1820, then they were considered quite even alive until the 1833 census. Chichikov could well put these "souls" in the bank and get a tidy sum.

In the course of the revisions, only male souls were taken into account, and the population is now estimated by simply multiplying by two. But the number of audit souls according to the V revision of 1795 N.Ya. Eidelman names 18.7 million, and S.G. Pushkarev and V.O. Klyuchevsky - 16.7 million. Even these "taxable" souls the empire knew very approximately. But after all, the revisions did not cover all

the male and active
population of the Russian Empire.

Nomadic foreigners were not included in the audit lists completely: after all, they could migrate from the census. And in the North, in Siberia and in America, there were still "wandering" aliens - hunters, reindeer herders, fishermen. There was also a contingent that did not want to be "counted", and these were not only criminals (which, however, would not be bad to count too), but, say, the Old Believers, who belonged to

censuses aggressively as an attempt by the Antichrist to impose a diabolical seal on them. These tried not to report any information about their number to Antichrist at all.

The audit did not include non-taxable commoners: retired soldiers, coachmen, clergy.

All those who did not pay the poll tax were not covered by audits: nobles, officials, and the personnel of the army and navy. In addition, audits were not carried out in Poland, the Transcaucasus and Finland. Morality? The government of the Russian Empire itself

did not know how many people lived in Russia in the 18th century. Modern scientists do not know this either. Estimates range from 33 to 40 million, and in order to obtain accurate data, it is necessary not only to invent a "time machine" and "fly" it into the past, but also to organize a completely modern population census in the Russian Empire ...

Even the number of the educated class, the nobility, has to be calculated approximately. Of the 34-40 million, a third lived in the Non-Chernozem

region - in the historical center of Great Russia, 10-12 million souls - the population of the newly annexed Western Rus' - modern Ukraine and Belarus. At least 3 million - the population of the black earth zone, in fact, little developed due to the raids of the Tatars. These raids ended only in 1780, with the conquest of the Crimea, during the reign of Catherine the Russians did not have time to master the black earth forest-steppes and steppes. In all of Siberia, from the Urals to America, on the territory of the Tobolsk and Irkutsk general governments, there are about 1 million people, no more. Even fewer on the new lands in the Black Sea region, in the Crimea: by 1800, about 200

thousands of people.

Of all this population, only 5%, 700,000 revision souls, live in cities, of which there are 610 under "Mother Catherine not". Of less than 2 million urban population, no more than 50,000 are registered in the merchant class. The rest are philistines, just as poor and disenfranchised as the peasantry.

There are more villages - about 100,000, and it turns out that on average 300-340 people live in a village. In the south and west there are larger villages, with a population of 500, 1000, and there are

more often. The North and Siberia are completely sparsely populated, that is, there are many villages with a population of 20, 30 people.

62% of the peasants are serfs, the property of the landowners, and it turns out that the most typical Russian person of the late 18th century is a serf peasant; they are about 57-58% of the total population.

IDEOLOGY OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

In the ideology of the Petrine and post-Petrine era, Russia was a state cut off from Europe by the insidious Mongols; the official task was to "return to Europe". In this ideology, the nobility turned out to be a

"Europeanized" layer. So to speak, those who have already returned to Europe. In reality, of course, the Europeanization of the nobility is rather arbitrary, and it went on gradually, throughout the 18th century. "The true emancipation of the nobility, the development of its noble (in the European sense of the word) corporate consciousness took place as it was "liberated" in the 1730s-1760s of the 18th century [59. S. 212]. The real meaning of the Manifesto on the Liberty of the Nobility is different - it "ended almost three hundred years of compulsory military service for landowners and turned them from a service class into a privileged class" [60. S. 298]. But ideologically, the nobles throughout the 18th century were recognized at the official level and increasingly considered themselves Europeans, whose fate was to lead a wild people and bring light to a wild people, languishing away from the sources of European enlightenment. In general, the meaning of the very concept of "people" after Peter changed very much. In the literal sense, "the people" is all who are "born". The Russian people are all who were born from

Russian mothers and fathers, both from boyars and nobles, and from shipbuilders building Caspian beads, both from the merchants of the living room hundreds, and from church beggars. The people is an integrity, a totality, in its meaning close to the French "nation", or the English "nation" - the nation, or the German "folk". Now it turns out that part of the Russians does not constitute a people at all. They are the nobility, the gentry, legally, with their rights and their way of life, extremely sharply separated from the rest.

people ... they would simply say - separated from the people, omitting the word "the rest" they did not need. In the Russian Empire there is the nobility, but there is the people, and it is completely unknown whether the nobility is part of the people.

In this sense, the noisy success of the book, translated from German in 1717, is very characteristic: "An honest mirror of youth, or an indication for everyday behavior." That is, many of the tips given in the book deserve only praise: advice not to eat with your hands, "do not champ at the table, like a pig", "do not put a second piece in your mouth without chewing the first", do not scratch your head, do not poke your fingers in face of the interlocutor and so on. Other advice - to

be pleasant conversationalists, to act boldly at court, so that "not to leave the court empty-handed", to learn to ride and wield weapons, were also useful to those who were trained from the noble undergrowth. But here are the advices to communicate with the servants

as little as possible, to treat them as humiliatingly as possible, in every possible way to "humble and humiliate"; there was also advice to the "young youths" not to speak Russian among themselves, so that, firstly, the servants would not understand; and secondly, so that they can be immediately distinguished from any "ignorant blockheads." I have no doubt that both

the German and Russian publishers of The Youth of an Honest Mirror had the best intentions, but the Russian nobility used this book in a peculiar way: in order to separate themselves as sharply as possible from other classes of society, from tens of millions of all kinds of "ignorant fools".

"It was not for nothing that the insignificant German little book became the educator of the public feeling of the Russian nobility"

[21. S. 117]

It's as if the people need to be enlightened... But at the same time, it's so nice to rise above the people... And at the same time, the people are valuable precisely in this way, without any education, they serve to ensure that the nobility can be "Europeans". And then if everyone is educated, who

will plow the land? Peter quite deliberately simplifies the structure of society, creating one layer of dependent tax-paying people out of many different strata.

In the course of the per capita census of 1719-1724, the serfs were included in the lists, and then they were taxed. Thus the thousand-year-old institution of servility was destroyed, and everyone began to draw two taxes, in favor of both the landowner and the state, both former serfs and landowning peasants. Later, churchmen, who were not included in the new lists, but lived on the landowner's land, began to be included in the owner's peasants, and these people also carried the same duties in favor of the state and the landowner. Among other things, this caused a sharp, several times, increase in corvée. In the middle of the 17th century, only a third of the estates were in the corvée, because the lord's land was cultivated by serfs; in the 18th century there were no serfs, and

two-thirds of all estates turned out to be corvée. The state peasants included the black-eared peasants of the north, the yasak peasants - the peoples of the Volga region, the one-palaces of the south, some of whom owned serfs

themselves, and held the land on local law ... There was a merger of patriarchal, church, monastic peasants. The freemen completely disappeared - all were not hard-working and non-serving people of the pre-Petrine time, but in

the time of Alexei Mikhailovich they were up to a quarter of the population. All taxes, all taxes were limited in movement around the country. Passports were introduced for them, "pachports", and violation of the passport regime - loss of a passport, delay, going beyond the permitted territory - automatically made a person a criminal who should have been immediately arrested and sent to his former place of residence.

In addition, all taxpayers were limited in their choice of occupation and in the possibilities of "vertical" movements from one class to another, located above. In the 17th century, peasants freely became the richest merchants.

After Peter, all non-service people in the Russian Empire automatically became burdensome and, moreover, limited in many rights and opportunities; and all taxables ensured existence

servicemen. "Russian Asians" kept "Russian Europeans", providing them with the very opportunity to be "Europeans".

Peter did not dress up the peasants in German clothes and did not force them to shave under the threat of a whip and block, but, as far as he could, he raped them economically. The peasants responded with the means available to them: they fled. From 1719 to 1727, there were 200 thousand fugitives - the same number as there were nobles and officials in the Russian Empire. In

1725 there were a million arrears in the poll tax; by 1748 the arrears had risen to 3 million, and by 1761 to 8 million. The Supreme Privy Council began to argue that if it

goes on like this, then there will be neither taxes nor soldiers. And in Menshikov's note for the empress, an amazing truth was expressed: it turns out that the soldier is connected with the peasant, like the soul with the body, and if there is no peasant, there will be no soldier, that is, the army.

Concerned about the strengthening of this popular body, the government, by decrees of 1729 and 1752, ordered that fugitives, vagabonds and unemployed churchmen be given into serfs to those landlords who would agree to pay a soul tax for them. The runaways

were returned, flogged with a whip, and they fled again, captivating new ones with stories about free life in the Commonwealth, on the Don or in Siberia. What

happened to the rest, who had not yet escaped, was shown by the events of the autumn and winter of 1733 - this year there was a particularly strong crop failure, and ragged peasants, barely alive from hunger, flooded the cities, asking for alms and calling them with their very appearance.

a pity.

BEFORE CATHERINE

The nobles were more and more allowed not to serve, and at the same time the rights of the landowner in relation to the serfs increased. By decree of May 6, 1736, the landowner himself determined the punishment for the peasant for escaping. By decree of May 2, 1758, the landowner had to monitor the condition of his serfs. On December 13, 1760, the landlords could exile their serfs to Siberia, to a settlement, and count their sending as the surrender of recruits. Serfs

they could not even voluntarily go into the soldiers, and this last sad road from the serfdom was cut off for them. "The main power of the state consists in the people, put on a capitation salary," Count Shuvalov believed, repeating in other words Menshikov and the "supervisors" (an idea, however, an elementary one). But under the leadership of Shuvalov, the draft of the new legislation provided that

"The nobility has full power over their people and peasants and over their property without exception, except for taking away the stomach, and punishing with a whip, and holding them torture."

The nobleman is free to tear serfs from the land, separate families, dispose of their labor, allow and forbid marrying and leaving married.

That is, it turns out that the nobility has the right to arbitrarily dispose of this main state power. According to the project, the serf was entangled with supervision, like an ancient slave, and only in one sense was attention riveted to him, as to that he was ready to flee, bringing losses to the owner and troubles to the state. After the Manifesto on the Liberty of the

Nobility, serfdom finally became a consequence that had lost its cause, and the flywheel of the machine was gaining momentum. Since 1765, it was even possible to exile serfs to hard labor

"for their presumptuous condition", and the peasants were officially forbidden to complain about the landowners. According to V.O. Klyuchevsky, the Russian Empire at this time -

"Strictly slave-owning kingdom of antiquity or oriental type."

I will add to this - the Russian Empire in 1760-1790 was an incomparably greater degree of Eastern despotism than Muscovy in 1670-1690. Moreover, in the 1670s, Muscovy did not differ so much from the rest of Europe in terms of the degree of lack of freedom of its subjects. In 1770, even in Prussia, measures were taken to

the mitigation of serfdom, and in Denmark and Austria the question of its gradual abolition was raised. The Russian Empire is a more backward state than Muscovy was a hundred years ago.

In the 1680s, Vasily Vasilyevich Golitsyn planned the liberation of the peasants along with the land - let them cultivate the land as free people, increase the economic power of the state.

A relative of "the same" Golitsyn D.A. Golitsyn, a Westerner and friend of Voltaire, also promotes the liberation of the peasants, but in reality he harbors completely different ideas than his relative ... Society understands him in such a way that the prince wants to transfer the lands that the peasants cultivate to their property. And the prince is seriously offended: he did not even think of suggesting such an absurdity! "The lands belong to us; it would be a gross injustice to take them away from us." He had in mind only the personal emancipation of the peasants, the "ownership of his person" of each of them, the right to movable property - cattle, grain and "the right to acquire real estate, if they can."

We have to admit that in the course of a hundred years the country has not only become much less free, but an incomparably less European spirit drives people of the same feudal class and even of the same feudal clan.

SALTYCHIKHA AND OTHERS

However, the reasoning of D.A. Golitsyn is rather an exception to the rule. The nobility confidently sat on the neck of the main population of the country and was not at all going to get off. Of course, the trial of the famous Saltychikha, who flogged to death at least 157 serf girls, is an excess. But the excess is not very significant, not very far from the everyday practice of the landowner's estate. In the end,

Darya Nikolaevna Saltykova, the widow of Captain Gleb Saltykov, committed her crimes not far from Moscow, or even directly in Moscow itself. The priests, fearing the landowner, gave "fake" conclusions about the causes of death, the officials also knew, if not everything, but a lot. After all, the serfs of Saltykova have repeatedly appealed to the Detective Order with complaints about

terrible landlady. Many of them had their wives, sisters and daughters killed; The question was - who will reach the turn and when ?! But the investigation conducted by the College of Justice showed that officials in Moscow and the Moscow police were bribed, "gifted" by Saltykova and immediately closed or shelved any case that had been started about the murder of her courtyards. And each complainant risked not only being in the full power of Saltykova, but also being put on trial himself - after all, until the peasants were not forbidden to complain about the landlords, it was quite possible to end up in Siberia for a "false" denunciation. And what denunciation is false, what is not, the bribed official decided. Several informers were flogged with a whip, this circumstance is well known.

By the way, we do not know everything that Saltykova has done, and most likely we will never know. 157 girls is, as lawyers say, the number of "proven episodes"; and besides them, there certainly existed those that could not be proved and which simply did not become known to either the investigation or modern historians.

The case of Daria Saltykova itself moved with great difficulty, the trial took place after lengthy delays, and this despite the fact that the supreme power expressed a direct interest in the case, and Catherine II called Saltychikha "a freak of the human race", and these words even got into official documents.

An investigation began in 1762, and only in 1768, six years later, Saltykova was tried and sentenced to death. Already on the scaffold, Darya Nikolaevna announced the mitigation of the sentence, the replacement of the death penalty with life imprisonment. A disgusting scene took place: Daria Saltykova was sitting, chained to a post, clasping her head in her hands - she was very afraid of the death penalty. And the peasants standing around the platform shouted something to her in the spirit:

- Your business is over! Well, show us, show us! - and so on.

Hearing that he would not die right now, the "freak of the human race" started up, got up and, making some kind of throat sounds, squealing, hissing, with a bared face, went towards the peasants standing at the platform, extended her hand outstretched like a bird's paw to them . The spectacle was so disgusting that the experienced soldiers who were present at it were sick. And the serfs of Saltykova continued to amuse themselves: they whistled, yelled, even tried

throw lumps of dirt at Saltykov until the soldiers drove them away. Let's not condemn these people, remember what they experienced.

If about Darya Nikolaevna herself, then it should be said right away: she did not admit to anything, despite the most "iron" evidence. Moreover, she did not repent of anything. The sentence was terrible, probably worse than the death penalty: life imprisonment in a stone sack of a monastery prison, on chains and without light, in complete darkness. Bring a candle with food and take it away when the criminal has eaten. Actually, Catherine II did not like fierce sentences. If such a sentence was pronounced, it means that the queen was really shocked by the crime. Saltykova died either in 1800 or in 1801, having lived for more than 30 years after the verdict. I don't know if she became aware that her name had become a gloomy symbol, but regardless of this, the word "Saltychikha" became a household word, this is a fact. It is all the more

surprising that the Saltykova case was so difficult to conduct: a lot of influential people tried to stop it, slow it down, drag it out ... since there was absolutely no way to completely cover it up. It is unlikely that these "influential persons" denied the very fact of the crime: the evidence was too clear. And it is unlikely that so many people were in solidarity with Saltykova in her mental deviation, yet a clinical sadist is a rather rare phenomenon. But the nobles could not ... no, not even

understand, rather feel: condemning Saltykova, willy-nilly, you condemn the system. Because the very cause of the crime; the reason why Saltykova could cultivate her mental pathology for several years in a row, killing and maiming people, was rooted in serfdom. In those extreme, absurd forms of serfdom that were established in the Russian Empire by the time of Elizabeth. After all, there is simply an incredible number of examples of the unimaginable barbarism of the landowners, quite comparable with the actions of Daria Saltykova.

After all, Saltykova was a small landowner, without a title and without connections at court. The verdict was passed not on the pillar of the then society; Yes, one of the many. In the same way, during the reign of Peter III, the small landowner Zotova, who tortured serfs, was tonsured a nun, and her estate was sold and given to the victims.

compensation. In 1761, Lieutenant Nesterov from Voronezh was exiled to Nerchinsk forever "for bringing a householder to death."

But these are rare examples, and again - small landowners, little-known, without strong ties at court.

Here is Alexander Sergeevich Shenshin, an exceptionally well-known person, the commandant of the Peter and Paul Fortress. There is a legend that, meeting Shenshin, Potemkin asked him every

time: - Well, what is it like to

whip? "Yes, little by little, Your Excellency," replied Shenshin with a good-natured smile.

So, Shenshin, even on his estate, was unable to part with what he loved: he kept a whole basement equipped as a torture chamber, and a whole staff of serf executioners, with whom he often had fun, torturing his other serfs.

An equally important "pillar" of St. Petersburg society was Struysky, who set up his own printing house on his estate and published sumptuous books of his own poems. Poems are monstrously incompetent, but this did not in the least prevent Catherine II from boasting to foreigners: here, they say, is what is published in such a wilderness!

True, in addition to the printing house, the Struysky estate had a well-equipped torture chamber, the educated count read a lot about the Inquisition, and the blacksmiths, according to his drawings, reproduced almost the entire arsenal of the "witch hunt" times. Guilty of anything, even in the smallest detail, was judged by a tribunal headed by Struisky, and the gentleman spoke in a purple robe and with the staff of the Grand Inquisitor, and during the "trial" laughed ominously from time to time.

The verdict was simple and standard: "torture to death." Experienced, knowledgeable executioners set to work, and how many men and women died in the torture chamber of Struysky is unknown. In any case, there is no certainty that Daria Saltykova surpassed Struisky in the number of people he killed. It may very well be that Struysky outdid her. And in the Struysky estate there was

an original home shooting range ... In this shooting range, real live guys and men ran across in front of the count and his guests, and they fired at living people from the very

real weapons. In this shooting range, they were wounded and killed not "for fun", but how many exactly suffered an evil death - history is also silent.

It remains to ask only the question - how were those killed in the shooting gallery and tortured to death buried? How did the funeral service take place and what causes of death were "established" by the priests? Did the officials know about the crimes and how much did they get "on the paw"? This is all unknown to me.

What is known is the tsarina's reaction to Shenshin's art. More than once, Catherine II shook her head accusingly, waved her finger at Alexander Sergeevich: they say, I know, I know what you are doing there! And he smiled embarrassedly, shrugged: they say, I'm sorry, mother, it won't happen again ... And he continued. As for Struisky, she boasted about the products of his printing

house to foreigners, and there is no information that she said about his second hobby, about the home torture.

Well, okay, the law still forbade torturing and killing serfs. But after all, even without formally violating the law, it was possible to commit absolutely monstrous atrocities.

Say, the landowner E.N. Holstein-Beck took away the estate to the treasury "for unworthy behavior" and for management, which could lead to the ruin of the serfs (again - a petty, unborn landowner). The unworthy behavior consisted in the fact that as soon as a child was born to a yard girl, the mistress ordered him to be drowned. This educated Russian lady, the ripe fruit of the Europeanization of the country, did not like the noise and the "childish smell" in the house. We don't know how many children were drowned, but if the child grew up - not in a manor house, in the village, the landowner took measures: they brought the children to the bazaars in whole wagons, sold them away so that they would not interfere with the enlightened lady with their native cries, fuss and roar. If it was still officially not allowed to drown children, then selling them was for a sweet soul. On this point the lady did not break the law

at all; after all, she, and only she, decided which of her serfs to sell, in what composition and where.

By the way, it is not always clear whether the landowner violated the law of the Russian Empire, torturing and putting him on the verge of life and death. It is forbidden to torture and kill ... But here the landowner Psarov on Pokrov, Christmas and Easter arranged a total flogging in his villages. Guys

flogged in the stables, women in the bath, as they say, in rows and columns. Flogged so that only they were alive. Formally, Psarov did not violate any laws: flogging peasants with rods, a belt, a whip was considered in the order of things, only the executioner's whip was

prohibited. Or here is the landowner Prince Shiryatin, who ruined three rangers. Vile men shot down his favorite greyhound bitch while hunting. Two circumstances are characteristic here: the first is that the wounded bitch has recovered. The second is that we know about the state of health of a valuable hunting dog: in the sources it is written about the greyhound bitch in the same detail as about the three

men who died under whips. So determine whether the prince killed them "correctly" or "wrongly". You can't kill, but you can flog with a whip. But the prince was in a state of passion: his beloved dog was killed!

Or when serfs were flogged in public, in front of their wives, husbands, children and parents. When for arrears they were put in a cellar without light, on bread and water, or chained, not letting go for weeks and months. In these cases, there was no violation of the law at all: after all, he does not kill, he does

not torture, he does not beat with a whip. And it's not just about physical torture. You can not touch a person with your finger, but completely crush his personality, if there is a desire. The same Prince Shiryatin, by the way, used to distribute thoroughbred puppies to women who were breastfeeding, so that the puppy would also be fed. Then, many other passionate hunters of his circle did exactly the same, so that the "invention", as they say, fell into the vein of the Russian nobility.

The power of the landowner was so immense that it opened the way for the most incredible abuses. And to turn serfs into victims of the wickedness and tyranny of a "simply" bad, spiritually bad person. And to turn them into hostages of perverts, people with pathological character traits.

But even the actions of people who seemed to be not cruel and not evil turned into a mockery no less than breastfeeding puppies or drowning newborn babies.

SUVOROV AND OTHER PATRIOTS

As an example, I will take at least the well-known, repeatedly described case when Count Alexander Vasilyevich Suvorov somehow discovered: in his estate Undol, near Vladimir, there are a lot of single guys, "bobs". In those days, to conduct a full-fledged economy, both male and female hands were needed, and the beans caused damage - to themselves, and to the peasant community, and to the master. Why aren't you

married? - There are not
enough brides, father ... There

really were not enough brides, and in neighboring villages they did not always give away "their" girls - after all, they, the girls, belonged to other landowners and cost money ...

— Buy brides! Suvorov said. The
brides were immediately bought at the very first fair, and Suvorov himself met the brought girls near the church.

- Off the carts! Build according to your
height! The brides lined up in height, and they lined up in the same way
suitors.

- Brides, under the hands of grooms be-eri! Step a-arsh to church!

Tellingly, the priest crowned all this disgrace. And the newlyweds had only one problem after the wedding: not everyone could remember their husbands and wives by sight. But they got out of the situation easily: they again lined up in height, and immediately everything became clear.

With the Suvorov village of Undol, the same village of Undol, which Vladimir Soloukhin sang along with Alepin in the 20th century, another "Suvorov" story is connected. On the estates of Alexander Vasilyevich, a custom was established - not to recruit their peasants, to buy recruits on the side. Half of the cost of the recruit was paid by the master, half by the peasants themselves. And the peasants of Undol arose a desire this time not to buy a recruit, to save some money: after all, there is a worthless horse in Undol, who has neither a worthy household, nor a good hut, not even a cup and a spoon ... As for the cup and

spoon, the peasants, most likely, "turned down", they really didn't want to buy a recruit, spend money, if you can hand over a "unfit" fellow villager.

Suvorov's answer was direct, like his heroic transitions, simple and cool, like the assault on Ishmael: build a hut, start a household, and marry the headman's daughter to him! So that the headman does not write to the master,

what is not needed, and to share his relative wealth, to help another tax payer to rise economically.

And do whatever you want with me, but I don't see the difference between this mass wedding, forced marriage to the daughter of the headman (who, most likely, could not even look at the beggar without disgust) and the greyhound puppy, the foster brother of peasant children. The same disgusting attitude towards people - at best, as useful agricultural implements, "talking tools."

Serf harems became a vivid manifestation of the fantastic lawlessness of serfs, and this phenomenon is not at all as rare as it might seem. There is an anecdotal, but completely real story, when in 1812, during the meetings of Alexander I with the Moscow nobility and merchants, a certain landowner, in the heat of patriotic enthusiasm, shouted to the tsar: "Sir, take everyone - and Natasha, and Masha, and Parasha!" This laying of the harem on the altar of the Fatherland can easily be considered an excess... But behind this excess there are quite terrible and not so rare phenomena.

The famous memoirist Ya.M. Neverov paints an absolutely stunning picture of the serf harem, which was in the house of his relative, the landowner P.A. Koshkarova.

"... Pyotr Alekseevich had a harem ... 12-15 young and beautiful girls occupied a whole half of the house and were intended only for Koshkarov's servants; so they made up what I called a harem ... Actually, the female half of the manor house began with a living room ... All family members and guests usually spent time here, and there was a piano. At the door of the living room leading to the hall, there was usually a footman on duty, and at the opposite doors leading to Koshkarov's bedroom there was a girl on duty, and just as the footman could not cross the threshold of the bedroom, so the girl could not step over the threshold of the hall ... Not only the duty footman or one of the male servants, but even male members of the family or guests could not pass further than the doors guarded by the girl on duty ... Usually in the evening, after dinner, the girl on duty, according to him

order, announced loudly to the footman on duty: "the master wants to rest," which was a sign for the whole family to disperse to their rooms ... and the footmen immediately brought a simple wooden bed from the men's half into the living room and, placing it in the middle of the room, immediately left, and the door from the living room it was locked in the hall, and the girls from the bedroom took out a down jacket, a blanket and other accessories for Koshkarov's bed, who at that time was performing an evening prayer according to a prayer book, and the attendant was holding a candle, and at this time all the girls brought in their beds and placed them around Koshkarov's bed, since everyone, except for Matryona Ivanovna, the head of the harem, had to sleep in the same room with Koshkarov ... Once a week, Koshkarov went to the bathhouse, and all the inhabitants of his harem had to accompany him there, and often those of them who had not yet had time, according to a recent stay in this environment, to assimilate all her views and tried to hide in the bathhouse out of shame - they returned from the bath beaten. "Without exception, all the girls were not only literate, but also very developed and well-read, and they had at their disposal a rather large library, of course, almost exclusively of fiction. For a girl, literacy was mandatory, otherwise she would not have been able to perform the duties of a reader under Koshkarov, a partner in

whist, etc., and therefore each newly enrolled immediately began to learn reading and writing "

consisted,

[3, S. 363-364]. P.A.

Koshkarov, at the age of 70, very zealously guarded his rights as the owner of a harem, and when one of the girls, Anfimya, tried to run away with her beloved, they were both punished extremely severely. Anfimya, after a severe flogging, was tortured by "putting her on a chair," that is, chained to an uncomfortable chair on which she could not even tilt her head: her neck was propped up by sharp knitting needles. That is, she was tortured with

special weapons, in violation of even formal laws in force, and this went on for a month.

A

“on the same day that the execution of Anfimya took place ... after tea, poor Fyodor was brought into the yard in front of the office window. Koshkarov stood under the window and, showering him with terrible abuse, shouted: “People, whip!” Several people appeared with whips, and immediately a terrible execution began in the yard. Koshkarov, standing at the window, encouraged the executors with orders: “Go ahead! Get stronger!”, which went on for a very long time, and at first the unfortunate man screamed and groaned terribly, and then he began to quiet down and completely quieted down, and the punishers stopped. Koshkarov shouted: “What did you get up ?! Get him down!” “It is impossible,” they answered, “he is dying.” But even this could not stop the fury of Koshkarov's anger. He shouted: “Hey, kid, bring a shovel.” One of the thugs immediately ran to the stable and brought a shovel. “Take Mr. to the shovel!” shouted Koshkarov. At the word “take Mr. on the shovel,” the one holding it immediately caught a pile of horse feces. “Throw in the bastard's face and take him away!”

[61. pp. 106-107]

In this case, Koshkarov broke the law, or at least came close to breaking it: it was impossible to kill a serf and it was impossible to torture him. But he had every right to start a harem: after all, nowhere in the code of laws of the Russian Empire, in the decrees of the tsars, in the decisions of the Senate did it appear that it was forbidden to start serf harems. And what is not forbidden is allowed, this is an old truth.

In general, the influence of serfdom, monstrous lack of rights, the actual slavery of several generations on the national character of the Great Russians has practically not been studied - apparently, this is a very painful, unpleasant topic. I have no rigorous scientific information about this, only the same reasoning that any of the readers can do. I will share only one observation that can no longer be repeated: the village, about which

I will tell you, I was in the zone of infection formed after the Chernobyl explosion. But in 1981, before Chernobyl, in the south of the Bryansk region, in this corner of the RSFSR, sandwiched between Ukraine and Belarus, there was a dense population and many villages located close to each other.

This village (I will not name it) consisted of two very different parts. On one bank of a quiet river there are strong, solid houses with brick heaps, large gardens, with cellars, into which you go down the stairs, and inside the electricity is burning. These houses were not built at all "in a rustic way", but consisted of several rooms arranged in a completely "urban way".

And on the other side of the river, in another part of the same village, there were houses - lopsided wrecked, among sloppy vegetable gardens, and on everything that I saw in these houses lay the stamp of squalor, sloppiness and poverty. This part of the village until 1861 was "owner's" and belonged to several landowners. And "beyond the river" lived free, state peasants. Has everything

remained the same since then? - Well, what are you ... In 1943, the entire village burned down. The front passed through it three times. In the whole village, two houses were left standing, and then burned ...

Like this. The houses burned down, the front ironed the village three times. But the psychology remained, and the descendants of free and serfs (in the fourth generation !!!) rebuilt their houses as laid down in their minds and subconscious.

Need comments?

NATIVES, AS SAID

But complete and depressing lack of rights is only one of the troubles that have fallen on the bulk of the people ... and perhaps not even the worst evil. Apparently, it

was even more terrible in their position to belong to the category of natives who were outside the boundaries of civilization. An "uneducated" peasant for an "enlightened" nobleman was not only a valuable property, but also a "Russian Asian" to be remade and re-educated. After all

did Peter remake the nobility?! So why shouldn't the nobility, already converted, "changed its skin", do the same with the peasants? Such civilizing work is not only meaningful, it is even noble. Not just "we" muzzle "them" as we like, but "we" turn "them" into civilized people. In the same harem of Koshkarov

"Everyone dressed, of course, not in national, but in pan-European dress",

and in case of misconduct, the girl was returned to her family, and as a PUNISHMENT, she was

"it is forbidden to wear the so-called lordly (European) dress."

The girls were delivered to this harem, of course, from among the serfs, from the ranks of the "people". Getting into the harem, they seemed to rise to the "European" environment, and for a misdemeanor they fell back into the uneducated mass of the people. The point,

of course, is not that the harem is a reliable agent of "enlightenment", an introduction to European life. Was a harem (especially a serf harem) possible in the then, and even in medieval Europe? Wild question: of course not. The point, therefore, is something else ... Any inclusion of a peasant, a man from the people, in the lordly life meant for him not just moving up the social ladder ... No! Thus, he moved into another cultural environment, literally into another civilization. From the category of "Russian Asians" (or "Russian Africans" with the same success), he passed into the category of Russian Europeans. These "Europeans" themselves could cultivate the wildest ideas both about Europe and about

themselves. Very often for them "Europe" was the absence of tradition - both folk and religious. After all, the traditions were ridiculous, absurd, they symbolized backwardness. Liberation from traditions symbolized progress, freedom, forward movement... in a word, Europeanness. Therefore, the harem, completely

unthinkable in any European Christian

country, became, as it were, a European phenomenon, and the owner of the harem, a cheerful, ironic freethinker, corresponded with Voltaire and became a European and even a zealous fighter for education, a Westerner and a liberal. The brain twist is incredible, who argues, but it happened.

And for a peasant, a muzzled Russian native, inclusion in this environment, in the system of a way of life and ideas that the tops of society deign to call "European" - this is both an increase in his status, and familiarization with the highest values, and recognition of his merits.

Of course, there were also completely real mechanisms for familiarizing the servants with cultural values in houses with paintings, libraries, home theaters, a completely European or almost European way of life. Such inclusion played the role of one of the mechanisms for real, and not just far-fetched, Europeanization of the country. I do not even think of denying the operation of this mechanism and I only want to show the reader once again that far from everything that was called Europeanism in the 18th century really has at least some

relation.

TWO PEOPLES IN ONE

So, in the era of Catherine's reign, the Russian people are finally divided into two ... well, if not into two peoples in the true sense, then at least into two, as scientists say, sub-ethnos.

Some are the Great Russians, the Muscovites, who continue their history. This is the bulk of the people. The Great Russians are an imperial people, the ethnic center of the Russian Empire. But they are considered the same native people as Ukrainians, Tatars, Buryats or Georgians. Others are a sub-ethnos that developed in the St. Petersburg

era. Imperial Great Russians, nobility and officials, "Russian Europeans". As in all empires, the way to Russian Europeans is open. Both the Russian native and any other subject of the empire can make a career, get an education, transform themselves in the image and likeness of Russian Europeans. "I did not jump into princes from

Khokhlov," wrote Pushkin. The crest here is clearly a native. If a person has become a prince, he is no longer a crest, he is

already a Russian European. Each of these sub-ethnic groups has everything that a real people is supposed to have - their own customs, traditions, orders, superstitions, even their own language ... Well, let's just say, their own

special form of the Russian language. Nikolai Semenovitch Leskov described his own grandmother, who freely pronounced such complex words as "in time" or "Nevuchadnezzar", but was unable to pronounce "officer" otherwise than "ohvitser", and "notebook" otherwise than "kitrad". That is, calling a spade a spade, this native grandmother of the civilized N.S. Leskova spoke Russian with an accent. Was she Russian herself? Undoubtedly! But after all, an educated person, trying to speak the "folk" language, also speaks with an accent. Is he also a foreigner?

Each of these two forms of the Russian language can be mastered to a different degree. The young lady-peasant, Liza Muromtseva, speaks well enough the "folk" form of the Russian language - at least well enough for Aleksey Berestov to really take her for a peasant woman [62. S. 86-95]. It is unclear, however, whether real peasants would recognize her as "their own". At the very least, the peasants exposed the Narodnaya Volya, "going to the people", and exposed them exactly the way they catch unlucky spies: by improper wearing of clothes, by household habits, by ignorance of characteristic details. And, of course, the language.

In Persia, the English spy Vambery (a Hungarian Jew by origin) had a misfortune: a military band was playing, and Vambery, without realizing it, began to stamp his foot. He himself did not notice what he was doing, but those around him noticed it perfectly. If the rest were also disguised Europeans around, Vambery, perhaps, would have left unharmed ... But everyone in the square was, as they say, the most natural Persians and with joyful cries dragged Vambery to prison - it was clear to everyone that he was not an oriental person at all, and Ferengi. And why can "Ferengi" dress in Persian clothes? Of course, spy!

Vambery eventually proved that he was an Oriental: for three days he yelled almost incessantly and cursed with the last words on

three local languages, and in the end the jailers came to the conclusion - "Ferengi" can't yell like that! And they released Vambéry, a major in British intelligence. Likewise,

everything is not very clear with Lisa. She can deceive a guy from the same social circle, that is, who has the same everyday experience, the same knowledge of the "folk" form of the Russian language. It is hard to say what real peasant women would say if Liza Muromtseva came out to the well with buckets and in her village attire; perhaps they would have said, in the words of Vambéry's jailers, "You are a Ferengi!" It is enough for Lisa to show that she does not know how and that it is hard for her to drag buckets on a yoke, it is enough for an involuntary gesture of a neat person to start looking for a handkerchief, and everything will become clear to those around her - she is not a peasant woman at all! She is a "Russian Mem Sahib", that's who she is!

Playing a peasant woman, she behaves not only as a person of a different circle, but as a foreigner. After all, for her, all the turns of speech used in the guise of Akulina are not the "real" Russian language, using it is only a girl's game, fascinating, spicy-risky. The girl knows perfectly well that "in fact" they speak Russian in a completely different way. And it's not just about the language.

There are so many details that are difficult to convey. Willy-nilly, we have already touched on clothing. But such simple things as a shirt (without pockets, by the way!), A sash instead of a trouser belt, bast shoes, a sundress or a hat - these are not just pieces of fabric cut and sewn in some way - it is also a habit to wear them, a habit satisfy their needs by being dressed in this way and not otherwise. A sundress is not just loose comfortable clothing, it is also a gait that is developed by walking in such a sundress

and in light (lighter than boots and boots) bast shoes. This is also the habit of especially carefully avoiding deep mud and puddles - after all, bast shoes get wet much more than leather shoes. The lack of pockets and handkerchiefs is the habit of blowing your nose with two fingers, and carrying money and small items

tied in a knot or in your mouth (from the point of view of Russian Europeans, this is a very untidy habit).

Life in a hut is also a habit of sleeping in stale air, because many people sleep in a hut, and there are no vents in its windows. And in the summer when

it is cool in the house, and in winter, in a heated house, simply speaking, it is stuffy. Apparently, ordinary people do not experience much suffering from this at all, but I can say with the same success that in modern ... well, almost in modern Russia, back in the 1970s and 1980s, at least some villagers clogged up at night their houses in such a way that the city, accustomed to window vents, the person in them simply began to suffocate. More than once in various expeditions, the

author of these lines had to deal with a situation where the "forwarders" yelled in unison to the owner of the house - they say, let's finally open the window! And the owner shakes his head and reproachfully says something like: "a breeze...". And his wife looks at the poor urban with an expression of sympathy and horror, as if they were refined suicides. And just now these nice people were sitting on a bench and, without any harm to themselves, inhaled the fresh evening air, filled with the smell of flowering plants, drying hay and moisture. But as soon as they go to sleep, and then there is an iron necessity to isolate themselves from the jets of fresh air at any cost, completely incomprehensible and unpleasant for the city "forwarder". For a modern Russian... at least for the vast majority of Russians,

the inability to ventilate the room would be unpleasant and even simply painful. In this we would find understanding among the people of the upper Russian culture, among the "Russian Europeans". But the "Russian natives" simply would not understand us what to do here.

The "natives" did not care about the abundance of insects, especially cockroaches. "Search" is a common activity for rural residents at the beginning of the 20th century. And what is "to be searched", you know? And this is what: one or one lies on her knees with her head to a friend (girlfriend), and she goes through her hair, picking out insects there, primarily lice. It doesn't look very "appetizing", I agree, but there are quite a lot of such unpleasant details in the lives of people of that time. After all, they were looking for not only in Rus'. In Europe, this custom also existed throughout the Middle Ages, and the urbanization of life destroyed it. Beginning XVII-XVIII centuries, too many people in Britain, Scandinavia, Holland, Northern France begin to live in ventilated

households, wash more than once a week, keep linen clean, and learn about the benefits of handwashing and brushing your teeth.

Prior to this, and in all agrarian traditional societies, there is a lot of everything "unappetizing". A description of, say, a traditional house of a Scandinavian peasant can simply cause nausea, including among modern Swedes and Norwegians. It was almost always cold in this house (they saved wood for heating) and there was a strong smell of stale urine - they washed it in urine, and therefore a recess was made in the earthen floor, into which all household members urinated; so to speak, without leaving their homes, they stocked up for the future what they needed on the farm.

And the custom of young mothers to suck snot from the nose of babies has disappeared quite recently; in Britain, it was celebrated during the era of the Napoleonic Wars (as a clear sign of the uncultured laborers, small farmers and other poorly educated segments of the population); in Germany it was described at the end of the 19th century, and in Russia it was recorded for the last time back in the 1920s, already before collectivization.

Life in a peasant hut is also the ability to behave at ease in a constant crowd of people, without any solitude. A peasant hut, not divided into different rooms, in which the main place is occupied by a Russian stove, would certainly not have seemed to us either particularly familiar or so very attractive. Looking at this, in general, a small space (even a rich northern hut), you are always surprised - but how did they all fit here ?! Several married couples belonging to different generations, a bunch of children and teenagers of both sexes, old people ... And all these dozens of people - forty, at most 50-60 square meters ?! But they were placed, they were placed ... For tourists visiting open-air museums for the first time, where monuments of wooden

architecture are stored (they are in Suzdal, near Novgorod), the question always arises: what, no one had separate rooms at all ?! No, no one had. And... it... married couples didn't have?! Did not have. But what about ... And so! What about children?!

But the fact of the matter is that none of the inhabitants of the huts in those simple times were particularly worried about whether the children see someone's sexual actions (including the sexual actions of their parents) or do not see. Even better to be seen and learned. The children both learned and

only on the example of all kinds of animals, domestic and wild; but also on the example of their closest relatives.

Life in a hut is also the ability to just as easily go out to pee and poop behind the barn. A flock of girls flies out and, in front of anyone who wants to peep, settles down ... fortunately, sundresses and shirts are long on them.

However, guys usually do not peep, they will rather peep at a girl's bathing - after all, the invention of a swimsuit lurks in the darkness of the future. The girls bathe naked, and you never know whose eyes burn in the thick bushes at a distance ... What Lisa will also have to get used to if she wants to play peasant all the time, at least for several days, and not several hours. But swimming

is good in the summer, and it is not very long in Great Russia. They go to the bathhouse regularly, once a week, but here's a more interesting question - how did you wash yourself in between baths? So to speak, from Saturday to next Saturday? The answer

is capable of upsetting a person who has attributed more virtues to his ancestors than necessary, and infuriating the "patriot" of the Soviet-Zhirinovsky spill. Because this answer is irregular, or even simply not at all. A touching picture - a girl who washes herself from a stream in the early morning, at dawn. This cute image goes from cartoon to cartoon, from a fairy tale to a fairy tale ... But the question is immediately - how should older people wash their faces? For those who do not really want to bend over and splash their hands in the "portrait"? What if the weather is bad that day? And in general - how does the same girl wash her face 7 months a year, from October to April? Not to mention that it can be quite a long walk from the house to the stream, and every day, perhaps, you are not.

It is worth asking yourself these "non-patriotic" questions, and it quickly becomes clear that in the peasant environment there is no cultural norm that requires washing every day. Roughly speaking, outside the bathing days it was possible to wash, but it was possible not to wash. Some brushed their teeth... and most

didn't, they didn't. It has become a classic to scoff at dirty ladies in knight's castles, "...beautiful ladies (there were no baths)", - V. Ivanov notes melancholy [63. S. 433]. But after all, in Muscovy there was no

traditions neither to wash oneself, nor to wash one's ears, neck or under the armpits, not to mention (a thousand apologies!) to wash away. Well, what to do if there was no such tradition, and it is quite possible to accompany any romantic story with appropriate comments. After all, why is it possible to supply Walter Scott's "Ivanhoe" with such comments, but it is categorically impossible to supply the works of the same Valentin Ivanov ?! This is discrimination!

Peasant life is completely different volumes of

housing, other premises, other objects. No, for example, cabinets or tables with drawers, chests of drawers and chairs. There are chests - that is, they also exist in the life of the nobility, but they do not play such a significant role. And there is nowhere else to put things. To live in a hut, you need to be able to use a fork, sleep on a bench, sweep soot with a

chicken wing, sew and spin at night, and not even by a candle, because a candle is a noble and urban luxury. And with a beam. Other habits, other movements of the body, tongue and soul. Other

memory, including the memory of

childhood. Peasants don't just have poor quality food. This is a meal consisting of completely different dishes that are prepared in different ways and are eaten differently.

The everyday food of the lower classes of society is deadly monotonous and is excellently described in two folk sayings: "Schi and porridge are our food" and "I'm tired of it like a steamed turnip." Both the taste of folk food and its biochemical composition differ from noble food. And to that, and to other food it is necessary to get used, in essence, all life. If we

continue the theme of "living like a peasant woman," then Liza Muromtseva would very soon have to discover another difference, which is very significant just for a girl - the peasants themselves cook the food they eat. Each dish must be cooked for a long

time, this is not an easy process - every time you need to chop wood, heat the stove, carry water. This is women's work; if a young peasant woman wants to live in the village for several days, as "her own", she will have to chop wood and every morning, without having time to go for a barn, go with buckets for water to the river or to the well. In each bucket - two modern buckets, on the yoke - two buckets, and go! That's why they try to cook one thing, but a lot,

- a whole pot of cabbage soup or porridge. They rarely eat, without afternoon snacks, "tea at four o'clock" and other pleasant snacks: they don't have much time for food, and they just need to save water and

firewood. The rules of behavior at the table leave much to be desired - they simply have not yet been created, and in villages where they eat mostly boiled, and from a common pot, they are not really needed. Here is a wooden spoon - a very necessary thing, and everyone wears it behind the bootleg.

It has become commonplace to consider marriage to a peasant woman as a kind of proof of "democratism." But a reasonable person would not advise a "Russian European" to marry even the sweetest peasant woman - and not at all because of some kind of prejudice. It's like N. Guseva:

“— With a woman from another caste, I probably would not
got

along. — Yes, why, why? How are members of your caste
better or worse than

another? — No, not better and not worse, of course, but...
you see... the fact is that the whole atmosphere is different. Not
the one I'm used to

since childhood." That's what's important. That says it all. In
one caste, this is accepted, in the other, this. A person of a different
caste grew up not knowing... hundreds of little things that create
the "atmosphere" of my caste. It can't be faked, it becomes organic
part of everyone's life."

[64, pp. 28-29].

In all the differences between "Europeans" and "natives", which have reached the level of differences between castes in two or three generations, there are many differences between rich and poor, possessive and subordinate, educated and uneducated. But not only...

For example, in the 17th-18th centuries, French and then German scientists began to study folk legends, fairy tales, customs, and ideas. They collected a huge layer of folklore that existed among people who were less educated, less rich and spent more time in fields, meadows and forests. They have

Enlightenment rage will also break through at times, but what will never occur to them is that before them are people of another people or people from another era. Neither the snail-pickers in southern France, nor the brushwood-gatherers in northern France, nor the shepherds and lumberjacks of Germany arouse the suspicion that they are in something fundamental more like the peoples of the colonies than

like the urban French and Germans. In Russia, of course, people from different cultural and historical epochs collide. The "Russian Europeans" are born of the reforms of Peter the Great, they are the children of the Petersburg period of our history. Among the "Russian natives", the culture of the earlier, Moscow period continues to live (probably, and somehow develop). In many works of Russian classics (by Maykov, by Sumarokov, by Lazhechnikov) such clothes are mentioned, which, after Peter, completely disappeared in the nobility or bureaucratic environment. Before Peter, a sundress, a caftan, a hat, a one-row or a feryaz were the usual clothes of all strata of society. Now only the "natives" wear them; "Russian Europeans" do

not know such details of the toilet. But even the understanding that these are people of different eras is not always enough to understand what is happening. There are even deeper, even more fundamental differences.

In the first half of the 19th century, Russian scientists will also begin to collect folklore, just like the French and Germans, but they realize very quickly that they are not dealing "just" with the common people, with the rural lower classes of their own people, but with some completely different Russians. ! Who not only have fewer things, who spend more time in nature and who are less educated, but people who have ... who ... well, yes, in the structure of life and in behavior, in whose thinking the whole atmosphere is completely different. Of

course, these are pure excesses, the events of 1812, when Cossacks or militias fired on officer patrols. When Russian soldiers, hiding in the bushes by the road, quite motivatedly fired at people in unfamiliar uniforms who were talking to each other in French. Of course, this is an extreme, condemned

even in the nobility itself. But L.N. Tolstoy calls the "educated French emigrant" precisely the national Natasha Rostova, who by no means forgot her native language, and not the pathological fool Ippolit, not

able to tell a simple anecdote in Russian. Is it by chance? After all, you can understand every word, even love the sounds of the Russian language, speak, think, write, read and compose poetry in Russian yourself freely, but what does it matter if the very structure of thoughts of the "Russian natives", the very way of thinking, if those behind in their words, everyday and social realities are little clear to him?

So a European can understand the words of a Japanese, a Hindu, an African - after all, there is no language that cannot be learned - but what is the use of understanding words if "the very structure of their thoughts is not clear" [65. S. 8].

Slavophilism will arise as a reaction to the understanding that "Russian natives" are foreigners for "Russian Europeans", and vice versa. K.S. Aksakov, A.S. Khomyakov, I.V. and P.V. The Kireevskys and other lesser known people are doing the same thing that Charles Perrault did in France in the 17th century, what the Brothers Grimm did in Germany and G.Kh. Andersen in Denmark. But the Europeans will not find in their common people people of another civilization, but the Slavophiles will. You can agree, you can disagree with their ideology - it's up to you, but the Slavophiles at least realized and posed the problem. For people of "their own circle", the decision sounded like "return to Russia!", "become Russian!". For all the naivety of this cry, it is difficult not to see the positive aspects in it. I took out a quatrain from the unfinished poem by A.K. Tolstoy; Aleksei Konstantinovich never joined the Slavophiles

as a social movement, but let me quote one more quatrain that ends this unfinished poem:

The end of a family break,
The merger of all into one
people, All that is alive in Russian
life, Kvasnoy would like a patriot

[66, p. 670].

"The merger of all into one people" did not happen. The Russian people remained divided either into two peoples, or even into two civilizations throughout the entire St. Petersburg period of its history and most of the Soviet period (however, other, new divisions will appear in Soviet times).

MYSTERIOUS NATIVES

We know very little about this Russian sub-ethnos. That is, we know its ethnography quite well: how they dressed, how they sat, on what, what they ate, and so

on. But, in essence, we know very little about this part of the Russian people, its history. After all, the system of concepts, the worldview of the "Russian natives" did not at all remain unchanged throughout the entire St. Petersburg period of our history. That is, it was supposed to proceed precisely from this - that the changing layer of "Russian Europeans", living in dynamic history and creating history itself, lives among the eternally unchanged people of "Russian natives" who are outside history. In its own way, this is a logical position - after all, history befits "historical" peoples, dynamic, as Karl Jaspers said - "axial" [67. P. 11), that is, those who began development, movement from the original

primitiveness. And the peoples are "not historical", primitive, and should be described by a completely different science - ethnography, from ethnos - people and graphos - I write. That is, folk description. History tells about events, ethnography about customs, manners and behavior, about clothes and food. That is, about static, little changing states.

About Russian natives and did not write historical works; in history they never existed. Only ethnographic works were written about Russian natives - about his houses, clothes, food, household, superstitions [68. S. 11]. These books are written with varying degrees of authenticity, are interesting to varying degrees, and show a very different measure of the author's talent in them. But what they undoubtedly have in common is a purely ethnographic approach. At most, it is ethnographic changes that are recorded: a cap appeared instead of a cap; they began to wear less sundresses, more waist-length dresses; oiled boots will replace bast shoes ... and so on. Likewise here

Nikolai Nikolaevich Miklukho-Maclay recorded what had changed on the coast of New Guinea between his two visits [71], and V.G. Tan-Bogoraz described in great detail how the material and spiritual culture of the Chukchi changed under the influence of American firearms and metal knives and scrapers [72].

The same approaches to the "Russian natives" are shown under the Soviet regime, but still for the most part in the 1920s-1930s, while the division into "intelligentsia" and "people" is still quite sharp. Among post-war authors, I rarely come across this position, and mainly among the intellectuals of the older generation. Let's say G.S. Pomeranets is an annoyingly implausible, some kind of simply fantastic statement about the "Neolithic peasantry" that survived until the 20th century [73. S. 364]. But in the works of intellectuals of more modern generations, a completely different trend is manifested. The task was set most clearly by N.Ya. Eidelman, suggesting: what if the conservative position of the nobility in the era of Catherine II somehow correlates with the position of at least part of the peasantry?! [74]. But even here the question is raised - and no more. There is no answer to it, and it is not expected. I will ask two more specific questions, without answering which we

will study the history of 2-3%, even 0.1% of the population of Russia as if this is the entire history of the Russian state and society.

1. Not the nobility - that is, the peasantry of different provinces, and the priests, and the townspeople, and the Old Believers, and the Cossacks - all these groups of Russian natives faced Peter's reforms, and participated in the wars with Turkey and Prussia. Before the eyes of these people (to the same extent as before the eyes of the nobles), the emancipation of the nobility took

place. So: how did these people themselves perceive the events in which they were either witnesses or participants? What were these events not from the point of view of the nobility and not from the official point of view of the Russian Empire, but from the point of view of the moral and cultural values of their own estates?

By the way, what impact did these historical events have on the history of this or that class or part of it? That some groups of Cossacks left the Russian Empire just in the course of the "reforms

Peter I," is well known. But here we have an example of a very simple, mechanical connection between events.

But at the end of the 18th century, Semyon Uklein, who joined the Old Believers, the Doukhobors, founded a new confession - Molokanism. It would be interesting to trace the influence of the books published in the Russian Empire, the wars she waged, the coming to power of Catherine II, the enslavement of the peasantry on the dogmas of this confession, the postulates adopted by it, its internal and external history. At present, such studies are completely lacking.

2. How did the "Russian natives" themselves, different groups of "natives" change in the course of the historical process? It is unlikely that different groups of the peasantry, townspeople, Cossacks and priests are the same in 1720 and 1800, or, say, in 1770 and 1830. After all, not only their number or composition must change (which is sometimes recorded by historians), but also their ideas about themselves, their attitude towards the state, towards other estates.

Not to mention anything else, because the "natives" can be Europeanized in many ways, and not necessarily by being included in the number of "Russian Europeans". Until now, not a single historical study has been devoted to this most important issue: the independent modernization of non-nobles in the Russian Empire.

While there are no works covering both issues (huge issues, no doubt), we are studying not even two parallel processes that are in no way connected with each other. We study the history of one of the Russian peoples as if it were the history of both peoples at the same time - after all, "Russian natives" do not seem to exist. Sometimes we even manage to convince ourselves of this.

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE NOBLERS

And more than that. All the already written Russian history of the 18th and 19th centuries, willy-nilly, is written as if the nobility, and then the nobility and the intelligentsia, are the entire Russian people. A historian, not even inclined to any tendentiousness, is forced to rely on written sources, that is, on what was left by the people of the studied era. In some case, he will easily expose

the document to "internal criticism", that is, it will understand what realities of life, not even mentioned in the document, forced it to be written this way, and not otherwise.

Reading the statement of the venerable gentlemen of the senators that "we have no smart people among the peasants", the historian is doomed to smile. There is no problem in immediately understanding that the materials of the Petr Shuvalov Commission were written in the interests of one class, and, apparently, one of the political leaders of this class.

But in many other cases, historians evaluate historical figures in the way that only one class, the nobility, evaluated them. The nobility was pleased to consider Anna Ivanovna and especially Biron monsters, and the time of their reign - an excess.

But was this time an excess from the point of view of the rest of the population of the Russian Empire? Doubtful! Because even the military teams that kicked out arrears according to the laws of wartime are only a direct continuation of the policy of Peter, who deployed military units on the territory of the provinces, that is, he actually occupied his own country with his own army. In addition, punitive expeditions for arrears were undertaken under Catherine I and under Peter II. Is the scale different? May be...

But could the "common people" see the ebb and flow here and connect them with the years of the reign of the emperors? Moreover, if they knew the documents of the meetings of the Senate and the Decrees of the next one-day emperor, they knew only in the form in which they were announced especially for them. And the policy of the government remained a secret behind seven seals for 99% of the Russian population. It may very

well be that Bironism never existed in the minds of the people, as some kind of special period. It was like this - a continuation of the cruelties of Peter's time, and nothing more. In the same way, we do not

know the popular disgust or hatred for the Germans. For the nobles (who were getting more and more Germanized) to be Russian patriots meant to swim in the mainstream of the official ideology. But for non-nobles (except for service non-nobles-raznochintsev), the court ideology or the ideology of the service class simply did not exist, and the Germans did nothing bad to them - they did not force them out of a warm place, nor did they force them to improve their qualifications.

In the same way, the subsequent tsars - Elizabeth, Peter III, Catherine II, Paul I - are evaluated by us only from positions of nobility. Most of the various "discoveries" - "But it turns out that this is what they thought about Pavel !!!" connected precisely with this: the historian draws on materials from non-noble sources. Most often, assessments of emperors and their policies by nobles and non-nobles differ. Both the adoration of "Mother Catherine", and the disgust for the "Holstein devil" and the "freak" Peter III, and the dislike for Paul I and his politics turn out to be purely noble phenomena. And it turns out that we really are not at all in a figurative sense of the word and not in the order of an artistic image - we study the history of 1% of the population of Russia as if this 1% is all 100%. Which is both sad and wrong.

Chapter

7 RUSSIA FORMER AND NOT FORMER

I will try once again to name the features of that Russia that took place after the pogrom of Peter the Great and long convulsive shying from side to side: the palace coups of 1725-1762.

1. A country has taken place, the people of which are actually divided into two different peoples with different customs, culture and almost different languages.

One of these peoples, constituting no more than 3% of the other, lives at the expense of the rest of the country. 2.

Russia has established itself as a country of "chronic modernization". A country that officially declares its goal to catch up with Europe, but whose ruling class will never allow this to actually happen. The privileges of the ruling stratum of this

country, the "Russian Europeans", are explained by the fact that they lead the rest of the people. The end of modernization will also mean the end of their privileges - that is, it will mean the same thing as a revolution for the ruling class.

3. In Russia, which took place by the era of Catherine, there was much less freedom than it was a hundred years

ago. A primitive slave-owning state took place, arranged very simply and therefore almost incapable of developing and change.

And therefore, in this established Russia, the devastating civil war of these two peoples is more and more inevitable. Most likely, it should be a war of annihilation - after all, these two peoples understand each other less and less.

A LITTLE VIRTUALITY

Oh, if the Volga-mother, but ran back!

Count A.K. Tolstoy

It is always interesting to calculate how events could have gone if some historical figure had not been born (Hitler, Lenin, Stalin as examples). Or if someone who died very young lived longer. Academician M.I. Budyko even believed that if Alexander the Great had not died at the age of 34, he would have had time to make another trip to the west with a high degree of probability. And then the world Roman Empire would not have developed as a Greco-Roman state with two languages, Latin and Greek, and with two centers - Italy and Hellas.

“... If his (Alexander the Great. - **A. B.**) life lasted at least ten years,” the European peoples could have only one ancient predecessor - Hellenism. “This would mean the use of the same alphabet by the peoples of Europe ... and a greater cultural unity of Europe compared to the results of its historical development known to us”

[94. S. 66]

It is all the more easy to imagine alternative versions of history that arose in the era of palace coups. The prospects of movement in one direction or another are very openly connected with the one who turns out to be at the head of the state, from the monarch. There are several variants of virtual history: something that did not take place, but which could well have been, it was worth living longer for any of those who sat on the throne from 1725 to 1762. So, a few virtualities, good and not especially.

THE VIRTUALITY OF THE DURABLE PETER II

In this virtuality, Peter II does not die on January 28, 1730. A wedding with Dolgoruky took place, a court established itself in Moscow, and St. Petersburg is gradually deserted.

In 1732, Katerina Dolgorukaya gives birth to a strong boy. In 1734 - the second. Pyotr Alekseevich lives until 1780, and he is succeeded by the elderly Prince Alexei Petrovich, by that time his father

and grandfather of a whole brood. On the throne forever - a dynasty dating back to the

Lopukhins. Could it be? It could even.

What is good about this version of history? That almost immediately after Peter I end all sorts of throwing, the legitimate dynasty is established.

In this variant of Russian history there is no annovshchina-bironovshchina, and already in the 1730s, what Elizaveta begins to do in established history begins. If the flowering of sciences and arts begins ten years earlier, this will not decide and will not change the fate of the people and the state. But the version of Peter II is still better and in several respects at once:

1. Many people did not die; the Dolgoruky clan has not been exterminated, Natalya Borisovna Dolgorukaya-Sheremeteva, for her own and her husband's pleasure, gives birth to several more children. With a high degree of probability, Elizabeth is either married to a "suitable" duke or king, or she and Alyosha Shubin throw themselves at the feet of the young emperor, and he allows her aunt to marry a brave lieutenant. Then Elizabeth could also have legitimate children, which is useful both for strengthening the dynasty and for Elizabeth herself. Those 5 or even

10 thousand nobles who were destroyed or exiled under Anna remain alive. Therefore, there are much more genetic opportunities for the prosperity of Russian culture: we don't know how many possible Shuvalovs and Vorontsovs, Argunovs and Lomonosovs simply were not born into the world, because their parents were separated young, died along with their executed mothers, or were thrown out by their mothers under a whip or on rack. Not to mention those exiled and raised as "Ivans who do not remember kinship."

2. Society is not corrupted by the terrible Secret Office, "in word and deed." The noble society of the "Emperor Peter II" model differs little from the noble society of the "Empress Elizabeth" model, but it is healthier, less scared and much more self-confident. Which is good for cultural development, by the way.

3. The country is returning to a more natural path of development. As St. Petersburg rots, Revel-Tallinn and Riga begin to play the role of Russian ports in the Baltic.

Frankly speaking, there is some sadness here, because in this version of history nothing even remotely similar to the stone miracle of St. Petersburg grows. For some time, a kind of cluster of wooden huts, quickly decaying and sinking, sticks out, then more and more is abandoned and preserved at best, as a kind of cultural and historical reserve, a royal park overlooking the Gulf of Finland.

Neither Palace Square, nor the system of squares associated with it, nor the Vasilyevsky Spit, nor embankments taken to stone will ever appear. There is nothing that we used to call Petersburg. This thought makes me very sad. 4. There is a possibility that the emperor agrees to the introduction of the constitution. The nobility wants this path, or at least does not completely rule it out.

And what path to take - along the path of the constitution or the path of turning the nobility into a privileged estate - nothing has yet been decided. This

probability is very difficult to calculate - it is difficult to imagine what would have happened if the emperor had signed in 1735 or in 1740 the Decree on elected representatives of the nobility, forming a kind of parliament, on elections for positions in the first 4 classes of the Table of Ranks, and so on. It is

incomparably easier to imagine what would have happened if events had developed according to a different scenario, more familiar to us - the expansion of the corporate rights of the nobles, turning them into a privileged class. Everything is clear here, only in the Russia of Peter II the process goes

even faster. What if there is a constitution? I will not insist on any specific date, but it is very likely that then we could live in a country where human rights are incomparably more guaranteed, where serfdom will never take such terrible forms, and by the beginning of the 19th century it will be cancelled.

But how would the relations between "Russian Europeans" and "natives" develop in this case? How can there be natives in a country that lives by even the tiniest constitution?! However, after all, such an option is also possible: a constitution for the nobles, a complete

disgrace to everyone else! Poland tried to grow an outlandish hybrid of a monarchy and a republic ... But in which no one, except for the gentry, had absolutely no rights.

It is very difficult to try to calculate what could succeed.

THE VIRTUALITY OF LASTING ANNA

Indeed, why did Anna have to die in 1740?! She was then 47 years old. Anna could live to 1750 and 1760

of the year.

This prospect is terrible, not only because Anna and her reign are terrible in themselves. The prospect of Annovshchina, which lasts not 10 years, but 20 or 30, is the prospect of a complete economic and political catastrophe, the collapse of the country and its immersion in complete chaos.

Anna's 20-30 years on the throne is her reign until Elizabeth is no longer 32, but 42, 52 years old ... During this time, Ivan Antonovich is growing up. As we know, he did not die in prison, and probably would not have died as an emperor either. Then the Brunswick dynasty is approved on the throne ... That is, the system of annovshchina is approved for endless times - stupid robbery of the country, denunciations, the Secret Office, timelessness (and the country, meanwhile, is more and more disappearing into oblivion). In this perspective, there are two options for events: 1.

A palace coup in favor of Elizabeth. Very interesting alliances are possible here - at least Minikha with Elizabeth. An incomparably more frank intervention of foreign powers is also possible: both those interested in the fall of the Russian Empire and those trying to establish it as a great power and their ally. So, a victorious palace coup... But Elizabeth's defeat is also possible! The rebels (and Elizabeth too) are beheaded, and all the insanity continues as before ... And a civil war is also possible, a frenzied cutting between the guardsmen loyal to Elizabeth, the army units that Minich managed to raise, and the units loyal to Anna.

Helping Anna

the commonwealth (general militia) of the Commonwealth invades - the more chaos in the Russian Empire, the better for the Poles.

On the side of Elizabeth, the Swedes enter the country, and the Baltic
The Germans themselves do not know which one to support...

In general, bloody chaos, and the longer it goes on, the worse it gets. Even if Elizabeth wins after two or three years of civil war, the country is still in chaos, destroyed, exhausted, and it will take decades to rise.

2. If there is no coup, everything in the country gradually falls into decay and without any civil war. It just falls apart, that's all. Leibniz at one time was sure that

the historical destiny of Russia was to become a colony of Sweden. Well, this prediction could well come true! Hardly in full - it is unlikely that Sweden could occupy the whole country and keep it forever. But some version of the Swedish occupation of part of the territory, pushing Russia away from the Baltic is a very real option. And then it's scary to think how many decades it would take Russia to return to the state of, say, 1689 ... Such a stay outside of European history, if it would not plunge Russia into complete oblivion, would extremely delay its development, would not even allow the

Russian Empire to be realized like an Asian despotism. So, a certain territory where it is not even clear whether there is a state of its own or not. The invasion of Sweden, by the way, is all the more likely because, given the virtuality of the long-lived Anna, there is no one to send to Holstein for the "Holstein devil",

and Karl Peter Ulrich becomes the king of Sweden. Which of the relatives will he come to the rescue? Closer in blood or will be guided by something else? Hard to say.

Here is another vanishingly unlikely, but still real prospect: Karl Peter Ulrich, King of Sweden, Duke of Holstein, on the ruins of St. Petersburg, adds to his titles the title of Emperor of the Russian Empire. And: "Forward, my brave soldiers, to Moscow!", "Mit Gotts hilfe!"¹ - and it is absolutely impossible to predict the result. From the reconciliation of the bloody lumps of the country under Swedish rule (and the half-Russian monarch, who combined in his title

three crowns), to the new militia of Minin and Pozharsky, a repetition of the events of 1612. In

general, wherever you throw -
horror ... With God's help.

THE FIRST VIRTUALITY OF ELIZABETH

Perhaps the reader remembers that in 1725 and 1727 such a candidate for the throne as Elizabeth was also discussed. What if she had indeed taken the throne in 1727? I'm sure nothing good would come of it. The frivolous, and besides, not very well-behaved girl would be completely dependent on the clique of temporary workers headed by Menshikov. Peter II Alekseevich had the will and mental

strength to fight - judging by everything that we know about Elizabeth, she did not have the necessary qualities. In addition, only during the years of Anna's reign,

under the influence of her changed position, the disappearance of Shubin and the whole situation of terror, did Elizaveta Petrovna begin to think at least about something. The Elizabeth who ascended the throne in 1741 was spiritually born in that terrible decade. In 1727, she was not there, and therefore it is impossible to start the reign of Elizabeth BEFORE Anna Ivanovna: she simply did not exist before Anna. This option again suggests either

a gradual plunge into chaos as a result of the "Menshikovism", or the overthrow of Elizabeth in favor of the matured Peter II. Civil war again shines with unpredictable results...

THE SECOND VIRTUALITY OF ELIZABETH

Elizabeth died at 52 years and 7 days old. Could she live until 1761, but at least until 1771? And even better - before 1781?

Such virtuality, at first glance, does not bring anything new - after all, Catherine in many respects continued the policy of Elizabeth. And by 1741, the nobility already knew their strength, the guards put Elizabeth on the throne. All options for the development of the country along the constitutional path were already completely impossible.

Everything is so, but at least in three points such "virtuality long-lived Elizabeth" promised very significant news:

1. An aged Elizabeth might well have changed the character of her court. That is, the courtyard would hardly have turned into a monastery of a strict charter, but at least drunkenness in the morning and rampant debauchery could disappear ... or at least be limited in scope. Not essential?

How to say ... 2. In the last years of her life, Elizabeth treated not only her "nephew Petrusha" very badly, but also his wife, Grand Duchess Ekaterina Alekseevna (future Catherine II). Elizaveta Petrovna did not particularly trust Catherine, and Catherine's popularity among the guards was very alarming to her. Someone

else, but Elizabeth knew very well how important popularity in the guard was and why ... Perhaps Elizabeth could, if not

calculate, then feel the prospect of a quick overthrow of Peter III, if he ever takes the throne. But she did not like Catherine at all and did not inspire the slightest confidence. Historians have different attitudes to information about the

daughter of Elizabeth and Alexei Razumovsky, whom the secret spouses hid abroad ... But some of the historians very seriously believe that Elizabeth kept her daughter abroad, as opposed to Catherine. So that she knows - in which case she has a formidable competitor.

And Elizabeth also had a plan - to put Peter abroad together with Catherine. Does he have his own Duchy of Holstein? Eat! Every three words on the fourth he scolds everything Russian, praises everything German, shouts that it is better to be a corporal in Frederick's army than an emperor in Russia? So let him try what it is like to live in Holstein and have close relations with Friedrich! Do they get along well with Catherine? And this is their problem. In general, it

is not the nephew who is proclaimed heir, but the grandson, Pavel Petrovich, and his aunt will bring him up in her spirit!

Let me remind you that during the coup of 1762, strictly speaking, not Catherine, but Pavel Petrovich was put on the throne ... Catherine was supposed to become only regent until the heir became an adult.

So the plan of Elizaveta Petrovna was absolutely real, all the more so - the Shuvalovs ardently defended this idea. If Elizabeth had sat on the throne until 1781, it is very possible that Paul would have succeeded her directly ... But not the Paul we know, disfigured by the eternal war with his own mother and the fragility of his position. A 26-year-old heir would most likely be a person with completely different psychological and moral qualities than a 42-year-old. The fate of the dynasty could have been completely different! Incomparably more prosperous ... 3. And one more side of the "virtuality of the long-lived Elizabeth." The reader is unlikely to forget that

from 1758 to 1762 East Prussia was part of the Russian Empire and that Elizabeth had no intention of giving up East Prussia.

Elizabeth did not want to stop the war with Frederick at all, but wanted just the complete defeat of Prussia. The Russian army achieved this defeat consistently and methodically.

Even if the discord between the allies did not allow the end of the war in 1759 and 1760, Frederick's position still remained hopeless. In 1761, the Russian army conducted military operations directly in Prussia, took the fortress of Kolberg, the gates of Berlin, the question was the terms and conditions of surrender. If Elizabeth does not die on

December 25, 1761, surrender
Prussia is inevitable. And then what?

Firstly, East Prussia in any case remains with the Russian Empire. Then very quickly the Duchy of Courland is in the hands of Russia, because it is located east of East Prussia. After its accession, it will be in the depths of Russian territory. It is very possible that the Russian Empire will take other pieces of Prussia or its allies - that is, it will make territorial annexations in Germany itself. Secondly, even if Prussia does not disappear from the world map, and Frederick does not die in 1770 in Berezov from

the drunken drunkenness of a loser, this robber state will never again be able to rise to its former heights and claim the role of a unifier of Germany. So, one of the seedy German principalities, no more.

At least three important consequences follow from these two circumstances:

1. The Russian Empire, having made acquisitions in the center of Europe, becomes more of a European power. In the history of our state, in general, "more European" and "more Asian periods" alternate, since the territory of our Eurasian state turns out to be "shifted" first to one side, then to the other. Shifts to the west can be very small - tens, hundreds of kilometers at most - in no way comparable with the vast expanses of Russia. But these relatively small territories in the west, due to their industrial potential and population, are very important on the scale of the Empire. Little Estonia in any period played a much greater role in the empire than the huge and practically uninhabited Taimyr Peninsula.

Having become part of the empire, the Europeans are forced to reckon with themselves as bearers of the ideas of individual rights, the European approach to many problems. In addition, Europeans are closely following the events in the center of Europe and the policy towards new subjects. When in 1760 Z. G. Chernyshov takes Berlin, one of his generals, Tottleben, has a desire to publicly flog the local newspapermen "for impudent antics against our empress in their malicious publications." Since "the whole city asked for royal mercy for them", Tottleben canceled the execution, but there was already a fuss in Europe, and Elizabeth shouted at Tottleben, reproached that because of him and her, Elizabeth, "they will look like a monster". I am sure that if the same execution had been carried out in Bakhchisarai or in Kazan, no noise would have arisen.

So the "trophy Europeans" made the whole climate of the Russian Empire more European. The "captured Germans" in the Baltics did a lot of good for the empire, but here we are talking about a much larger number and incomparably more cultured Germans. The inclusion of only East Prussia in the Russian Empire made the Russian Empire a Russian-German state. Moreover, the Courland Germans are inhabitants of a wild periphery, but the same cannot be said about Prussia. 2. This victory would make the Russian

Empire an even more European state due to the fact that all or almost all of Poland

could become part of the Russian Empire or conclude special treaty relations with it.

Indeed, during the partitions of Poland, Prussia most of all insisted on partitions. The Russian Empire was in no hurry to divide, believing, not without reason, that it could get everything down to the last square kilometer. In the end, I had to agree to sections. So that Prussia does not get even more. But if Prussia does not exist or

it is extremely weak, it is no longer a question of division, but of the annexation of Poland to the Russian Empire. The number of "trophy foreigners" is growing many times, and they already make up a significant part of the population of the Empire. After this accession, a huge Slavic state is formed, of which 40 million people 2 million are Germans.

3. Third, no less important consequence. Saved by Peter III, Prussia in the 19th century became a collector of German lands, "with iron and blood" created a new German empire. In 1914, it will come to a war between Germany and the Russian Empire ... But if

in 1761 Prince Yusupov takes Friedrich to drink and die in Berezov, and Prussia is either divided or drags out a miserable existence, then it turns out that it will not unite Germany. Either a new leader must appear (the Russian Empire?), or Germany will remain a conglomerate of principalities, each with its own political system, with its own dynasty and its own international relations. And a huge Slavic power hangs over them ...

Such a perspective makes us see the whole course of European history and the 19th and 20th centuries in a completely different way.

VIRTUALITY OF ACTIVE PETER III

This virtuality is connected, strictly speaking, not with the real Peter III... Since that real Peter III, in principle, could not sit on the throne... At least, on the Russian throne. But let's

imagine that it would turn out to be a smarter or at least a more cunning person. If he made at least a third of those political moves that his wife made, it would be he, Peter III, who would sit on the throne! Having sat down, he could have sent Catherine to the monastery, and

marry Elizaveta Vorontsova (I wonder who would then become the heir to the throne, and from which wife?). But only a person psychologically similar to

historical Peter III, but to Elizabeth or his wife, Catherine.

Conclusion: Peter III had no real opportunity to sit. There is no virtuality in which he is friends with Frederick, forces the Russian Empire to fight for Schleswig, disperses the guards and at the same time continues to rule. Only a person with the same name, but completely with

other personal qualities.

The question is, what if he had them? As early as June 28, 1762, not everything was lost if Peter III had listened to Munnich and other courtiers. The emperor gallops to Petersburg at the head of his faithful courtiers (Minich and Gudovich alone were worth a whole half company of drunken guardsmen, but there would have been others). Around the Winter crowd of people of varying degrees of drunkenness, the guards are sworn in ... To a completely illegal oath to the criminal Ekaterina Alekseevna, so far without a serial number. The appearance of the emperor could change a lot. To bring confusion into the ranks of perjurers, to confuse the clergy, to activate that part of

the guard that did not at all want a coup in favor of Catherine or little Paul, or even went with the flow. Terrible bossy cry: "Stop the farce!" Fast movements of a group of self-confident people near the Winter Palace. Decisive behavior of Munnich, calling the guards, faithful to the oath. Are the conspirators ready to kill Peter? Undoubtedly. But it's one thing - without a single witness to strangle a defenseless person who does not want to drink poison. It is quite another to shoot at the emperor, to strike the crowned person with a saber in the midst of a crowd of people. Where everyone sees who is shooting at whom or who is chopping whom. The surest

way to suppress the rebellion, of course, is to immediately open fire to kill when they appear on the square. As soon as it is technically possible. Pyotr Fedorovich is not ready for this, but Minich is ready. A quiet order behind the emperor's back... Rapid movement through the crowd... Instantly thrown up hands with pistols, booming shots, dense clouds of powder

smoke. Ekaterina settles down, wheezes, pressing her hands to her chest, shot through in

three places. — What have you done, Karl Burkhgardovich?! You shot the empress!

“Yes, your majesty! I did my duty and protected yours

throne. - You should be executed! You killed a crowned lady!

“Yes, your majesty! I am ready to go to the chopping block so that the usurper of the throne is punished, and you remain the

emperor. And that's it, and the

rebellion has already stopped. Although no ... The Guard - its rebellious, part of it that participated in the conspiracy understands perfectly well that there is nothing to lose. Orlov, Teplov, Razumovsky ... many have to either run away without looking back, hoping to survive in neutral countries. Or take the fight, and go to the end in this fight. A terrible thing is

being started, cruel without limit. Perhaps it is better for the emperor not to jump to Petersburg. Here, of course, you can also win. In a dump, it is never known who is who, it is quite possible to defeat the conspirators. But it may very well happen that the Anhalt-Zerbst whore will not collapse on the stones of the pavement. The valiant hoot of Alexei Orlov, the gleam of a saber, viscous crimson drops fall from the blade, the emperor kicks his legs, beats martyrically in the hands of Gudovich, a disgusting crimson puddle

spreads over the pavement. Then Catherine will issue a Manifesto, according to which the emperor appeared drunk, staggered, fell, and himself ran into a saber. She has nothing to lose. The defeat of the rebellion is her death.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF CIVIL WAR

So maybe the most reasonable thing is to run into the army? On June 29, the conspirators gallop to Peterhof and find not amusing exercises with wooden muskets. The guns were pumped out and aimed at the road, soldiers with red-hot rods froze around them, their faces were determined and menacing. Just as

menacing is an infantry square with loaded muskets, ready to do its duty. Is it scary to hit at least one guardsman with a bullet? Hm ... And how are the guards themselves? They are ready to die for

mother empress? There are those who are ready, because they have already spat in the well, cut off all their ways back, burned bridges, crossed the Rubicon. They have only two ways: to the courtiers of Mother Catherine or to the chopping block. Falling on the battlefield is far from the worst option, even if the battlefield is not with the Turks, not with the Prussians, but the field of the civil war. Imagine the worst: a decisive attack by the

guards, led by the Orlov brothers. Let the guards, losing their own from cannon and rifle fire, crush, cut down three hundred loyal Holsteiners. Let the screeching buckshot pass the Orlovs and the other most evil and resolute ones. Let them stay on the road winding along the Finnish

bay, "only" dozens of less dangerous and desperate. By the

evening of June 29, you can move on ... But the emperor with his retinue, whipping, changing horses, is already approaching Narva. A few days will pass, and the Russian army, led by its legitimate emperor, will approach Petersburg.

And then it becomes obvious how weak Catherine's support is. Her chance is an instant unexpected blow, an instant victory, a swift, in a matter of days, consolidation of this victory. There was no other chance and no. A serious civil war, the movement of the field army to St. Petersburg means for her instant and true

end.

Indeed, what can Catherine and a few guardsmen oppose to the legitimate emperor and the army? Dignitaries and guards are good at intrigue, catching fish in troubled waters. Here it is necessary not to lie and wag, not to take picturesque poses, not to strangle the defenseless and unarmed. There is a real fight here. And who will do it? Who is for Catherine? People? No, broad sections of the people are unambiguously on the side of the

emperor. Nobility? Most nobles have absolutely no interest in changing their emperor. The vast majority of army officers and a significant number of guardsmen are either "for" Peter, or at least neutral. "For" Catherine - a handful of people, the top of the administrative apparatus and part of the guard. With an instant strike, this is power - in their hands are all the "commanding heights" in the state. What if the impact is not immediate?

Even if Catherine, preparing to repulse the army, will gather several thousand "slavishly devoted" people to her. Which of them is really capable of fighting? Painfully fat Razumovsky? Dignitaries of the Senate and the Synod, whom Catherine herself called "old women"? Priests? "People", that is, crowds of townsfolk? A purely civilian Teplov? Only a part of the guardsmen can really resist.

Even if the whole guard will express their readiness to "die for the throne of the mother empress." What will it give? Combat units, tested in the fire of the Seven Years' War, go against the capital's semi-robbers. Tens of thousands of professional military against a few hundreds of desperate, strong, but never entered the battlefield.

In civil wars, confusion and vacillation are inevitable as soon as any force begins to lose. As soon as the army approaches Petersburg, the guard will run. There will be no street fights at all, or there will be some small episodes that mean nothing in themselves.

What can Catherine do? There are several options.

Run and ask for help abroad? But she has nowhere to run. Frederick swallowed up Anhalt-Zerbst a long time ago, and Frederick needs her no more than last year's snow. And no one really needs it. Who is she? So, a petty rebel, a hateful wife of the legitimate emperor of the Russian Empire, who decided to intrigue against the legitimate authority of her husband. End your life? She is not capable of

this. Fight and die? She is even less capable

of that. Intrigue, lie, "surrender" the faithful Orlovs and try

to be "nothing to do with it"? But there is no such possibility. Use the son of Paul as a shield, hide behind him as a hostage? But the emperor does not love his son and doubts his paternity. Not to mention anything else, Peter III is young and active. Vorontsova will

give birth to new children for him. In general, there is no real chance.

There is not even a

chance to drag out the civil war, counting on an acceptable peace with the winner.

The options are solely in how exactly the fate of each of the conspirators will turn out: a shameful execution on the chopping block, eternal exile in

Turukhansk, flight abroad and a long life of forgotten, useless "former". Perhaps Peter III himself, in his kindness, would

have sent Catherine abroad. I would even provide money. But if the court decided the case, the lady would only have to look for a suitable head basket. Or would Sophia Frederica's severed head be impaled? Between us, she totally deserved it.

WITHOUT VIRTUALITIES

Civil war is always a great evil. But in this case, it would be a boon. Because it has long been known that if some group of people receives power and privileges, it does not give them away without a fight.

The question is - at what time was it possible to do without a civil war? This is the time when the nobility has not yet acquired its extraordinary power, and the guards have not yet begun to dispose of the throne. This is the time from the death of Peter to the

first years of the reign of Anna Ivanovna. During this period, less than a decade, the nobility could not become a formidable conservative force. During this period of time, a constitutional Russia, unknown to us, could have arisen.

After the nobility has taken the first steps along the path of a privileged rather than a service class, this prospect almost disappears. By the end of the reign of Anna Ivanovna, the nobility already knows its worth, and the guards will not let go of the opportunity to make politics in the interests of the nobility. Therefore, the process of emancipating the nobility and turning it into the main force in Russia, which began under Anna and ended in 1762, is almost INEVITABLE. He has no alternatives. Virtuality is not appropriate here.

They are not appropriate because personalities are no longer very important here. You can kill several, even several dozen guardsmen. But it's not about them at all! New ones will take the place of the dead, and the guard as a political force does not disappear anywhere. Disperse the guard? Peter III and tried to do it.

Any monarch who ruled after 1741 in Russia would have to deal with the Guard. And he would simply have to accept

exactly the same decisions that Elizabeth made, followed by Peter III and Catherine. So there

really are no virtuals here. Or the omnipotence of the guard, the fantastic privileges of the nobility, "golden age" for a handful of people.

Or civil war, which will sweep away the guard and deprive the privileges of the nobles. It's a tough, bad prospect. But after it, as after a thunderstorm, the air in Russia would become cleaner.

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